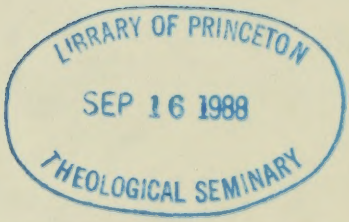

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CHURCH ARCHITECTURE: ITS PROPER RELATION TO SIMPLE CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

By A. R. PITE, Esq., Architect.

Paper read at the Autumn Conference of the Church Association, held in the Athenæum Room, Derby, on the 5th and 6th November, 1878.

Numerous papers read by antiquaries, architects, and amateurs at Church Congresses and Diocesan gatherings are on record, containing so many statements in stereotyped form of what the writers have desiderated, that no recapitulation of them can be necessary by any additional essay on church architecture. I am therefore anxious, in leaving the beaten track of Ecclesiology, that we should discover what principles are in danger from the Ritualistic encroachments of the day, and take counsel how to act in the emergency.

For thirty years, Mediævalism, under the specious garb of a Gothic revival in architecture, has been moulding the minds of the clergy and laity alike for the reception of certain Romanistic forms of design and structure now said to be popular. This tendency has gradually spread, like a fretting leprosy, over a large Ecclesiastical surface. Not only has it imposed upon church buildings, fittings, furniture, and vestments a Romish character, but an affected gorgeous ceremonial has, in many cases, taken the place of simple Christian worship. By a veiled and stealthy sapping, the pulpit, the platform of God's herald, has been undermined, and the Altar of Sacerdotalism substituted as the central object of attraction. Over-decorated structures of pseudo-mediæval design, but carried out in detailed subservience to modern conventionalities, are intro-

duced to covertly favour Popish formularies, and to serve as stepping-stones to the ornate ceremonial of a sensuous religion whose chilling influences and bondage to ordinances stamp it as antagonistic to the scriptural injunction that we should "attend "upon the Lord without distraction."

In the stormy aspect of our political and Ecclesiastical horizon, it behoves us to look with anxious care, not only to the principles, but also to the external expressions of form in our church architecture. "*The house of God, which is the church of the living* "*God*," is exposed to fierce assaults from the enemy who seeks to gain the citadel. Under such conditions, the Christian who holds the "truth" dearer than life, must offer an uncompromising resistance to error in every form as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.

It cannot be overlooked that architecture, music, painting, and sculpture, as sister arts, have so intertwined themselves with religious edifices in all countries, Pagan or Christian, that we cannot lightly estimate their legitimate influence. In the Tabernacle "*Bezaleel and Aholiab were filled with the Spirit of God in wisdom*, "*in understanding, in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship*," to carry out the details of the Divine Specification. In the work of the Temple, the highest art and the choicest treasures of wealth were gathered within walls of exquisite workmanship ; yet all was brought to a proper level by the manifested presence of "One greater "than the Temple."

Doctrine—ceremonial and architectural effect are so indissolubly associated in all Ecclesiastical edifices, that, by a natural law, a correspondence ordinarily exists between the external style and the religious uses of a building. So Egypt, Assyria, India, China, Japan, Greece, Babylon, Rome, and Stamboul—each and all testify to the harmonious union of the Fine Arts and Religion.

If we believe as an axiom that "Christianity is essentially Christ's "life in the Church, pervaded by the Spirit of God," we must keep this belief steadily in view, as the criterion of our opinions in all questions affecting Christian worship. Primitive Christianity adopted the Basilican form as best adapted to its wants and to a simple formulary. The development of an apostate Christianity gave origin to fanes erected for gorgeous display, and adapted to an idolatrous system which enslaved the worshipper to dangerous

errors, veiled by art and gross superstition, and draped seductively by the sacerdotal powers.

In the present day the churches of our English towns and villages are often made to serve as provincial museums for curious and artistic embellishments, presenting in most cases an incongruous mass of distracting details, the heterogeneous contents of a student's sketch-book. It should be our endeavour to sweep away the cobwebs of a decayed superstition, by faithful adherence to simplicity of form and worship, and recognizing as the standard of all Christian usage, the early precept—"*Whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all "in the name of the Lord Jesus*," and so transmitting uninjured and unimpared to our successors the precious legacy of Apostolic doctrine and practice.

Let us inquire, in the first place—

What have Ecclesiologists, antiquarians, and modern architects done for our churches in building and restoring them?

They have sketched out the general plan of our parish churches and cathedrals; they have argued well and ably for their congregational usages; but, with a scrupulous tendency, they have linked up and incorporated in their designs many Romish accessories.

From the time of Constantine, the Basilican hall with its apsis has been accepted as the basis of our church architecture, and to this day the leading principles of the Basilican plan are dominant, in spite of the fringe of aisles, chapels, and altars grafted on it in times of apostacy, when the pulpit was supplanted by the altar.

Without drifting into a dissertation on the various styles prevalent in Christendom, let us, for the practical issues before us, look within the range of English history at the rise, maturity, decadence, and revival of our national Gothic style, carefully nurtured by centuries, and perfected in the magnificent cathedral piles which adorn our cities. From the Romanesque and Norman periods prevaling from 800 to 1150, successive developments of our English Gothic passed through transitional periods and reached a climax of beauty in the decorated architecture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But when the degenerating florid and perpendicular Gothic took its place as the dominant style, and prevailed to the middle of the seventeenth century, a general decadence characterized all the works of the period, not only at home, but also abroad.

We have at the present day the conventional forms pressed upon our attention and presented for our general adoption in Nave, Aisles,

Transepts, and Chancel, all appropriate to the simple Christian worship of our Church of England services. Special pleading and pressure, however, are exercised to introduce the unnecessary and distracting accessories of the Ecclesiologist. The simple worshipper knows no altar or sacrifice but the person and work of the Adorable Redeemer, while the multiform chapels, shrines, and screens so essential to mediæval effect, and so gratifying to the senses, can have no place in his formularies or creed. The Piscina, the Sedilia, the Baldachin, the Credence, the Rood screen, all have an origin and a history of their own, interesting and engrossing in no mean degree to the antiquarian and the architectural student, but bearing directly on Romish doctrines we do well to avoid involving, as they do, principles subversive of all that was restored to us by the Reformation. I am firmly convinced that those who venture blindly on the lines of conventional architecture, with all its paraphernalia, must sooner or later find themselves on the high road to such mediævalisms as Lady Chapels, Sanctuaries, Retreats, Confessionals, the Monastery, and the Convent.

It is an essential, in the policy of the Romish Church, that the so-called altar should be the central point of attraction in doctrine and practice for priest and sacrifice, and around it screens of iron, wood, or stone are erected to prevent the intrusion of the profane. These screens are now becoming prominent in modern Ritualistic churches, making them unworthy of the name of the House of God, by contrivances in plain opposition to simple Christian worship, and offering every encouragement to monastic institutions and to the introduction of Guild-halls attached to our churches.

There can be no doubt that a great contrast exists between the original Basilican design and the Mediæval church. In the former large congregations could be assembled to hear without architectural or ritual hindrance the Gospel message from the ambassador of the King of kings. In the latter, the ceremonial and pomp of sacerdotal performances engrossed the senses of the congregations, reducing the actual devotees to a few, and driving them in small groups to altars and shrines seeking rest but finding none. Interior adornments involving points of coloration and sculpture form a subject the consideration of which, in its immediate relation to spiritual worship, might fairly occupy our whole time. Leaving that field as too large for us to enter upon, I simply remark there are valid climatic reasons for constructive decoration in the varied building materials within our reach.

We have to remark in the second place—

Ecclesiologists have brought to light and preserved many beautiful specimens of art. But by embalming them in modern structures as objects of veneration, and in insisting on their adoption as future models, they attempt to carry our admiration beyond its legitimate purpose in church architecture.

The Romanizers of our day have not only dealt seductively in their apostate dogmas, but in a fraudulent manner have subtly foisted their doctrines into the plans and details of Ecclesiastical architecture on the specious plea of antiquarian veneration and a holy love for religious symbolism.

This tendency must be resisted. "What concord hath Christ "with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel?" There are some so enraptured with their conceptions of the typical and the symbolical, that they have grossly distorted the metaphors of Scripture to favour the forms and sculptures of their superstition.

In all these efforts there is a dreamy affectation of mediævalism, and a cold unreality, strangely inconsistent with its own assumption of a beautiful parallelism and harmony between structure and doctrine.

It is quite legitimate to take an artistic and antiquarian interest in mediæval designs and details, as history itself recorded in stones; but we must carefully distinguish between mere artistic appreciation and revival and any theological principles and practices involved in their application to Christian worship. Weighing well their logical consequences and their natural effect in transforming the services of our Church into a vain display, the injunction "*touch not, taste not, handle not,*" must guide our decisions in this solemn matter lest we be exposed to the Master's rebuke, "*Who* "hath required this at your hand?"

We are also bound to remark that in some modern cases the high ceremonial associated with such architectural excesses is an exaggerated burlesque of a corrupt original. While conveying only the faintest idea of the traditional or primitive usages which form its defence, it exerts on the minds of the people a fascinating influence by scenic effects, by the charms of music, and by pompous ceremony. We cannot, therefore, but raise the voice of warning against the insidious and arrogant demands of a High Ritual, veiled and at the same time supported by architectural device, as calculated to pervert, by their traditional associations the sacred ordi-

nances of our Church into actual stumbling-blocks to the simple worshipper.

That this tortuous process of amalgamating truth with error is really the policy of the Romanizing party is amply proved by the Jesuitical tactics which they have recently exhibited in straining the public patience and trifling with the dignity of our courts of law. These strategies have purchased for them a temporary evasion at the cost of a complete exposure of the arts they employ in their endeavours to taint church architecture with error and superstition.

In the third place we note—

That the Ecclesiologists have endeavoured to make the drapery of Romish plan and ornamental device suit the form and circumstances of our Protestant Church. The voice of Jacob is heard in unholy incongruity with the garments of Esau. The example should itself be a sufficient warning to us not to enter into any alliance or compromise that could accept those mediæval accretions which are the distinguishing characteristics of the Roman Catholic ritual. All such accessories group around the central doctrine of the Altar and Sacrifice, terms which are foreign to our Church category, for only in a spiritual sense have "we an altar whereof they "have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle."

Against this parody of religion and this obstrusiveness of worship, permitted—alas! by the latitudinarian tendencies of the day, "*the* "*stone* cries out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall "answer it" that the walls are "daubed with untempered mortar." Sacerdotalism is, in brief, the central purpose of the Tractarian movement. It is the goal to which they urge our people by insidious education. Let us therefore avoid as jealously as possibly any contact with the unclean thing. Let us recognize that we are in the presence of two powerful and antagonistic forces, and that a challenge is exchanged between the Altar and the Pulpit—between Sacerdotalism and the Ambassador of Christ.

We now come to the inquiry :—

How can architecture consistently represent the principles and usage of the Church of England, and thus in a subsidiary way contribute to simplicity and reality in Christian worship ?

Having pursued our subject up to this point negatively, by demonstrating what errors and dangers should be avoided, we would now endeavour to ascertain positively the legitimate use of the means at our disposal as sanctioned by the unerring word of God.

Let us first ask, What does God require of us? "*To present our "bodies a living sacrifice,*" which, taken in its obvious and spiritual sense, involves the vital principle of Holiness to the Lord, manifest in all things religious, whether internal or external.

As the visible church is but the outer court of an invisible inner court where the Shekinah dwells in Divine glory, it is incumbent upon us that we allow no intermediary glamour to disturb our vision or impede our access. Anything that the architect can do to further this spiritual aim is fairly at the disposal of the Church, but any doubtful innovation should be checked at its earliest appearance by the thought that "the place whereon he stands is holy "ground." We must as a rigid duty examine the principles and motives which are latent in the forms we adopt, lest, like the Pharisees of old, we "*make clean the outside of the cup and of the "platter,*" leaving them within "*full of extortion and excess.*"

Let our buildings and ornamentation reflect, in design and execution, the pure light of New Testament Scripture where no sacerdotal acts are performed by the Ministry, but where they are appointed the Evangels of the Gospel, to teach and exhort the people as Ambassadors of the Most High.

Simplicity of plan should, therefore, characterize all our Ecclesiastical structures; and where means and inclination combine to produce a building of imposing proportions and striking beauty, all the resources and expedients of the arts may be worthily employed in harmonious rivalry for legitimate effect.

In thus consecrating human will and genius to the service of God, scrupulous care should be exercised to protect the worshipper from distraction, recognizing his supreme desire to "*see the King "in His beauty, and find grace to help in time of need.*" Infinite as are the glories of the New Jerusalem presented to us in Scripture under the most splendid imagery, all its glory is as nothing in comparison to the central "Light thereof," the presence of "the Lamb "that was slain." So in our churches should all our architectural detail be subordinated to the one great purpose of our assembling together, and should tend to impress on our hearts by faith the presence and power of the Divine Master.

The architect must remember this duty in his work by arranging that the congregation may have an uninterrupted view of the Pulpit, Prayer-desk, Lectern, and Communion-table. While the eye may be satisfied with beautiful outline, just proportions, and

with appropriate docoration made subordinate to the general plan, the mind must be left unfettered to experience those holy emotions and impulses for the absence of which no excess of ornament can atone.

The high ceremonialists of to-day beguile the eyes of our congregations in the most specious manner, engrossing the attention by over-adorning the church fabric according to a perverse and delusive fancy: for the idea of a peaceful and triumphant Church resting and rejoicing in a world of sin and sorrow and active antagonism is surely the reverse of actual Christian experience. We maintain, on the contrary, that the Church being really in her militant state should be represented to the world as far as possible in her true character, "*persecuted but not forsaken, cast down but "not destroyed,*" a united body triumphing only by faith in assured victory, but struggling for her Lord day by day, and invoking help and strength from the sanctuary on high. Her unquestionably militant condition is altogether incongruous with the triumph signified by an ornate Ritual.

As illustrating a consistent love of church architecture combined with the deepest attachment to principles of vital godliness we may glance at the work and character of George Herbert, an enthusiastic and reverent church restorer of Reformation days. In this remarkable man the highest faculties for poetry, music, and architecture combined to stir up the master-passion of his soul—an absorbing love for his Divine Lord—to sanctified Christian work and worship. The one pervading theme of his life, his writings, and his work, the inspiration of his holy example, was the Atonement of Christ. Next to the personal Saviour, the Church of England with her scriptural formularies was nearest and dearest to his heart. To a mind like his the structure in which he gained the closest and holiest communion with his Lord was the very threshold of the heavenly court.

His poem of "The Temple," published after his death, sheds on the subject of church decoration a freshness and a perfume which covers the whole theme with a sanctified fragrance. His mind, richly stored with biblical knowledge, and his affections steeped in the love and grace of his Redeemer, the quaintness of his fancy, the boldness of his thought, the vigour of his language, and his deep simplicity all combined with an artistic power rarely

equalled, to make his poesy one long and flowing hymn of praise to God.

Christopher Harvey published in the seventeenth century some poems on the same subject and in the same strain as Herbert, whose mantle he seemed to inherit. Recognizing the necessity and value of popular instruction for the people in the House of God, this able and judicious writer links up in a quaint style the actual wants of the people, making no reference to mediæval usages, but touching all the salient points of simple Christian worship as appropriate to our Church services, by depicting in glowing terms his ideal of the external and material means of grace.

The Prayer-desk and Lectern, as the source of comfort in supplication and sustenance from the Word of God,—the Pulpit, as the fountain of divine light and life, and the ministering place of God's messengers commissioned to provide edification and faithful exhortation,—and the Table of the Lord, beautifully representative of the banquet-table of Christ's love with His own people to perpetuate the memory of His death "*till He come*,"—have each their proper sphere and value as a help to Christian worship beautifully designated in his writings.

We note, further, that all the resources of art should be legitimately employed to adapt our church architecture to the simple usages and formularies of the Church of England.

David would not offer to the Lord a gift which cost him nothing, and he prepared an abundance of treasure and free-will offerings from the people. Though God was pleased to sanction, sanctify and bless the work, it would never have been accepted if David's own heart and life had not been consecrated with it to the service of God. In like manner the love of Cornelius was manifested in Apostolic times by building a synagogue, which proved to be a gift acceptable to the Lord.

The Temple of Solomon, with its elaborate detail, its priceless adornments and its wealth of treasure, is a striking example of the extent to which ornamentation may legitimately be carried when authorized by a definite ceremonial under Mosaic law and Divine appointment. Yet we have no trace of the Divine approval of the Temple *merely* as a gorgeous structure. The real glory of the Temple was in its great spiritual purpose and design, in the loyal recognition of *Jehovah's great name* being there in the unapproach-

able sanctity of the Holy of Holies, and in the effulgent presence of the Shekinah.

The contentions that have been aroused in our own day by questions as to the proper position of the Lord's table might well be set at rest for the simple Christian by the remembrance that the holy supper was instituted by our Lord—not in the Temple, not in the synagogue—but in a Jewish dwelling highly honoured by the Master, and at an ordinary table. Let the table, therefore, stand—in the words of the rubric of Elizabeth—"*in the body of the church* "*or in the chancel.*" All superfluous ornamentation or formularies associated with the simple administration of the Supper of the Lord tend to divert the mind from the spiritual reality of Christian worship, are far removed from the divine original, and are contrary to the spirit of the Church of England.

Architecture should ever be pressed into the Christian service as the handmaiden of religious truth, but not used as an expedient for seducing the people into Romish practices and doctrines. Art should never be allowed to dominate over religious principle, but should contentedly remain its faithful servant. The material and finite must never supplant the spiritual and infinite.

The Scriptural injunction that the Church should, with "*lively* "*stones*" of varied but harmonious parts, build up "*a spiritual house,*" fitted for "an habitation of God through the Spirit," indicates the essential principle of unity and beauty that should characterize our church architecture and define its proper relation to simple Christian worship. Gathered together in such a consciousness, the people of God may not be surrounded with architectural embellishments, but they can well afford the loss if, realising their Lord's spiritual presence, they be filled with the joyful conviction—"*This is none other* "*than the House of God, and this is the Gate of Heaven.*"

To conclude:—It is manifestly our duty to protest against all dangerous innovations: adhering steadfastly to the great landmarks of our Christian verities, and to the simple worship of the Early Church, that the standard of vital godliness in our land be not debased.

We should jealously guard against the insidious attacks of the enemy from within, as discernible in the practices, pretensions and assumptions of the Ritualistic clergy, at once contemptible in themselves and disastrous in their tendencies.

That the powerful influence exercised by internal forces at work in the Church, suppressed only by temporary expedients, are now ready to burst forth into bud, blossom, and fruition of the rankest Popish development, is an unmistakable danger which can only be averted by a persevering, faithful, and prayerful resistance. The whole machinery of Ecclesiastical and Civil law has become necessary for the restraint of apostacy; and the decisions and specific prohibitions of Her Majesty's courts established for the protection of all we hold dear in our National Church are barely sufficient to avert an open assault from the enemy.

But for a healthy public opinion in support of judicial decisions we are fully conscious that the *virus* might at any time burst forth with tenfold virulence. In loyalty to our Lord Jesus Christ—the Supreme Head of His Church—let us cherish an intelligent zeal, founded on the consciousness of our union with Him, and fighting under His banner, to offer the most unequivocal antagonism to all encroachments of apostate doctrine draped in architectural forms.

For more than three hundred years the Church of England has raised a uniform protest against the intrigues of Rome; and still she must keep on her guard as a protester against an elaborate Ritual, flattering no doubt to the human emotions, but tending in the most direct and positive manner to draw off the mind from the great spiritual realities which the simple usage and formularies of our Church are designed to teach.

Let us also remember, by way of contrast, that the Roman Catholic Church claims to be a living encyclopædia of the arts, especially in their architectural development, whether in Classic, Romanesque, or Mediæval form. Consistently with the pretension, it seizes every opportunity to unite architecture, sculpture, music, and painting in harmonious competition to adorn the shrines and altars of an idolatrous system, in plain contravention of the written word of the Most High, "*who dwelleth not in temples made with "hands,*" and has declared—"*To this man will I look, even to him that "is poor and of a contrite spirit.*"

On the other hand, the Church of England has wisely preferred a more spiritual order of things in "*the proper relation of Church "architecture to simple Christian worship.*" The Holy Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer taken together, define the augustness of the House of God as closely identified with the "*Audience "Chamber of the King of kings.*"

Holiness not only becometh the people of God, but should be the corner-stone of the House of God itself, so that solemn awe and filial joy may combine to fill the soul of the Christian with ecstacy of delight in anticiptaion of a promised blessing in the Courts of the Lord. Hence the architect should cultivate his great art with all its accessories for the service of the Lord of Hosts so as to assist and not hinder the worshipper, realizing the responsibility attaching to his most honourable employ as a servant of Jesus Christ—aptly expressed by Herbert when he said—

"Teach me, my God and King,
In all things *Thee* to see,
And what I do in anything,
To do it as for Thee."

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EPISCOPAL RESPONSIBILITY, AS CONNECTED WITH THE PROPER USE AND TIMELY ISSUE OF INJUNCTIONS AND VISITATION ARTICLES TO ENFORCE THE LAW.

AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY

By I. P. FLEMING, M.A., D.C.L.

Paper read at the Autumn Conference of the Church Association, held in the Masonic Hall, New Street, Birmingham, on Wednesday, November 7th, 1877.

In face of the confession made more than once by the most eminent authority in the most eminent seat of authority, that there is an anti-Protestant conspiracy in our midst, which calls for legislative repression, we cannot but be struck with the strange paralysis of Episcopal action, and the apathetic attitude of the public mind.

These are not hopeful signs, but they may be due to a variety of causes. They may betoken a pause at the close of a normal period of forty years preceding a happy reaction. They may be due to a silent divorce in the minds of many between the spheres of *Religion* and *Theology*, and a growing dislike to doctrinal speculation. They may be owing to a seductive and dangerous principle of *comprehensiveness*, which suggests that a National Church ought to be co-extensive with every phase of the National mind, and find room for the expression of it too; or lastly, they may arise from some lukewarmness on the part of Evangelical defenders of the Truth in face of the unsparing activity of Romanizing enthusiasts, if not, of Romish emissaries.

To all these in degree we may attribute the torpor we witness. Above all, there is a fatigue, such as we see in the political world around us—a fatigue, which gains strength through the perplexity

which prevails. This state of things is fraught with grave peril and danger. It is most favourable to the spread of error, whether Ritualistic or Rationalistic. The assault upon the principles of the Reformed Faith can only be met by redoubled activity, and uncompromising candour in the exposition of truth. Nothing subserves the purpose so much, as placing in juxta-position the policy which settled the Reformation, and the policy which is answerable for the re-settlement of its perturbations to-day—and contrasting the procedure, which parallel troubles evoked formerly, with the lack of anything corresponding to it at present. Thus may we arrive at some answer to the inquiries—Have the Bishops power to cope with Ritualistic nonconformity? If they have, what is it? How ought it to be exercised?

A comparison of the reigns of Elizabeth and Victoria will reveal many features of resemblance, both from a secular and an ecclesiastical point of view:—A pitch of national glory, and prosperity during long reigns under two illustrious Queens.—Both reigns remarkable for the dissemination of the Bible—new translations issued of the Word of God—The Church possessing the same priceless bequests of our Protestant forefathers—Liturgies differing imperceptibly—Articles and Homilies, standards of Doctrine, the same—Canons and Rubrics for discipline and order almost identical—normal executive powers unchanged—A surging wave of Nonconformity within the very bounds of the Church, gradually increasing in volume in spite of Episcopal *action* in the former reign, and Episcopal *utterances* in the latter—a Nonconformity differing in this respect.—Under the Tudor tending to revolt against more than Episcopal authority—under the Hanoverian retrograding towards sacerdotal tyranny. Both, however, characterized by the same lawless self-will, and mutinous spirit on the part of a section of the clergy. And, finally, the Episcopal Bench in both reigns supplied by men, who, as a rule, for character, worth, learning, religious spirit and eminence, present a body of overseers unsurpassed in their individual excellence by those of the Church at any time.

But, if such be the favourable points of parallelism presented by these Hierarchies, there is a vital one in which they differ. The crisis which convenes meetings like these is sufficient ground for the statement. In the conception of the sphere of responsibility, in earnest painstaking vigilance over the interests of the Reformation, we fear that a wide difference will be established between the Elizabethan and Victorian Bishops. And the question presented for our consideration is—why it should be so? Why the example bequeathed should not be followed?

What this example was a brief survey will unfold to us. We shall observe how the Fathers of the Reformed Church estimated their responsibilities, and grappled with the difficulties of their time—how their *Visitation Articles* were made to serve a practical purpose—how the Queen, as the "Nursing mother of the Church,"

stimulated their activity—how Injunctions, Advertisements, Mandates, Proclamations, Orders, Monitions, Letters, were followed by strict interrogatories from which there was no escape—and how deprivation was the reward of waywardness, rebellion and unfaithfulness. The moral will manifest itself with reference to the troubles of the Church during the last thirty years, and supply an answer to the inquiries with which we started.

In the Visitation Articles of well nigh two centuries, which we possess, the law of the Church is so clearly exposed with reference to details of Ritual, that this fact ought of itself to have sufficed to check all irregularities and innovations at the outset. An impartial survey of these Visitation Articles presents us with the following reflections:

1. By an attentive comparison of them the *internal history of the Church may be almost reconstructed upon theory.* Their object is transparent—*to enforce law*—to check diversity, perversity, and innovation—and to exact conformity to discipline and doctrine.

There has scarcely been a crisis in our ecclesiastical History, which *has not left its trace in them.* And the Bishops of the early Reformation period evidently considered them as the lever of their authority.

2. They bear continuous and uniform testimony to the well-understood law of the Church, and indicate the line of procedure to be adopted in cases of disturbance like our own. In face of them it is not too much to say, that not a single question pertaining to Ritualistic controversy which has exercised our Courts of Law for these many years past ought to have arisen.

Such being the relation between the Visitation Articles and collateral events we must glance incidentally at four sets in the reign of Edward VI. selected to illustrate Episcopal *power, initiative courage,* and *zeal.*

Close upon the Injunctions of Edward there followed two Visitations, the one Archiepiscopal, the other Royal, in 1547 and 1549, both due to Cranmer. During the short interval between them great progress had been made; as, for instance, the "Two Candles on the High Altar" had been abolished, and Images which in some cases had been retained on the plea of non-abuse through the careless wording of one of the Injunctions had been completely swept away by a special Mandate. The difference between the two sets of Articles is noteworthy. Those of 1567 closely follow the Injunctions in their inquiries.* Those of 1549† kept pace with the progress of events. The very first Article *forbids the reading of such Injunctions* as made mention of the Mass, Candles upon the Altar, or any such like thing. By-and-by, on the ground of "establishing an uniformity," an enumeration is given of every particular savouring

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* Sparrow's Collections (1684), p. 25. † Cardwell's Doc. Ann., Vol. I., 63.

of the Mass to be avoided. Among them is—"*Setting any light upon the Lord's Board at any time :*" and all this—not as the old phrase ran—"*according to the King's Majesty's Injunctions*," but, "*the King's Majesty's Proceedings :*" thus showing that the second Visitation had for its special purpose the enforcement of the Mandates and Instructions given in the interim.

Ridley was more bold. His Visitation Articles of 1550* for the Diocese of London are generally identical in phraseology with the preceding, but at the close he gives special *Episcopal Injunctions*, one of which, anticipated the Order of Council which in fact it prompted for the total removal of Altars and substitution of Tables —"*one honest Table*" in each Church and the abolition of all "by-altars." He also quotes "*the authority of the King's most godly proceedings*."

Cardwell states that Ridley framed this Injunction about the Tables "doubtless on the authority given to the Bishops in the Preface to the 'Book of Common Prayer, to take order for the quieting and appeasing of all doubts connected with the use of that book' "—a valuable lesson as to Episcopal duty which is the path of the Church's safety.

The courageous sense of responsibility on the part of Ridley was matched by vigilant zeal on the part of Hooper. "In 1552, after he had completed his Visitation of the Diocese of Gloucester, hearing that his Articles were not subscribed by divers of his clergy, and many abuses still remained there, *he hastily went over that Diocese again*, and administered certain interrogatories both for the clergy and laity." Among them we may select one of peculiar significance at the present time—"Whether they preach any doctrine to avouch purgatory, pardons, *auricular confession*, praying to saints," and so forth.†

But a close examination of the internal history of the Church, which followed its restoration and resettlement in the days of Elizabeth presents an astonishing picture of activity and singleness of mind on the part of the governing authorities.

The Visitation of 1559‡ which swept away all Popish accessories of worship is remarkable for its searching nature. When such questions occur as :—"Whether the Holy Communion is ministred any otherwise than only after such manner as is set forth by the common authority of the Queen's Majesty and Parliament," we can easily understand the rapidity with which the Church was cleansed from all Popish tendencies and attachments. There are, however, some remarkable periods which may be selected as illustrating the *power of the Bishops*, and the purport of *their Visitations*.

The first of these is the year 1561. Confusion was then rife

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* Sparrow's Collections, 33, or Cardwell's Doc. Ann., Vol. I, 81.

† Strype, Eccles. Memor., Vol. III., p. 3. ‡ Cardwell's Doc. Ann., Vol. I., p. 210.

from two causes. One—self-will manifested in diversity of usage—the other, lawlessness, arising from excess of zeal in executing the orders for Reformation. A remedy was then applied, which seems by every fair consideration to be applicable to our own times.

Heylin tells us*—"to remedy the confused state of things, it was found necessary by the Archbishop of Canterbury to have recourse to the power which was given him by a clause of the *Act of Uniformity of Elizabeth*, which provides that the '*Ornaments Rubric*' is to be governed by further order to be taken by authority of the Queen's Majesty with the advice of Her Commissioners," or —(and this is the great point to be noticed) "*of the Metropolitan of the Realm.*" "Fortified," we are told, "and assisted by this general power, Archbishop Parker, by the Queen's consent, and the advice of some of the Bishops set forth a 'Book of Orders' (anterior to the Advertisements) to meet irregularities, and to be diligently observed and executed."

In the midst of such labour on the part of the Crown, on the part of the Archbishop and Bishops, in searching out, and checking nonconformity and irregularity, it is a relief to turn to the other side of the picture—*the kind of answers they received.*

One such certificate of especial importance from the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury in 1564 survives.† It exhibits a very simple solution of all difficulties connected with what is called—"*the Eastward Position.*"

It appears that in January 1564, upon the receipt of the Queen's Letters for establishing Uniformity, Archbishop Parker had required of every Bishop a certificate to be sent to him concerning their respective Clergy's manner and behaviour—*their doctrine* and *conformity* to *the Rules* and *Ceremonies of the Church.*

This Certificate of the Dean and Canons of Canterbury opens thus:—

"First. We do certify that there is no Doctrine taught and defended by us, nor by any Preacher to our knowledge, other than that which is approved by the Word of God, and *set forth within this realm by public authority.* 2. The Common Prayer daily throughout the year, though there be no Communion, is sung at the Communion Table, *standing North and South*, where the High Altar did stand. The Minister, when there is no Communion, useth a surplice only, *standing on the East side of the Table with his face toward the people.* 3. The Holy Communion is ministred ordinarily the first Sunday of every month, *at which time the Table is set East and West*," &c.

The other statements are to the effect that the usage in all things was in accordance with the rule of our present Canons.

Now such minute answers imply very minute inquiries, and when Deprivation was the reward of disobedience, we can understand the *reality* of Visitation Articles and their object in those days.

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* Heylin, Hist. of Ref., fol. 316.

† Strype's Life of Parker, fol. 183.

But after the issue of Injunctions, Proclamations, Acts, and "Books of Order," varieties still existed in the mode of performing Divine Service—varieties which, compared with what we witness, were trivial. They are contained in a memorable paper drawn up at the instance of Cecil, Secretary of State in 1564,* after due inquiry. Yet so different was the idea of law and order which then prevailed that, as the historian tells us, "These varieties in the mode of performing Divine Service being contrary to the Queen's Injunctions, and begetting discussion, difference, and disorder among Christians of the same profession, redounding to the disparagement of the Reformed Religion among the enemies thereof, the Queen directed her Letters to the Archbishop in 1564, requiring him and the other Bishops to take order for the repression of irregularities, and *blaming the Archbishop and the rest of his Brethren for not being forward to prosecute them that did vary from the appointed Rites and Ceremonies, but had for peace' sake 'winked a little at the non-observance of them,' and blaming them for their lack of regard that they had given, and their sufferance of sundry varieties and novelties.*"†

The immediate result was the first issue of the famous "Book of Advertisements," the validity of which might have been further supported in recent arguments by the fact of the reference made to them very precisely in the Visitation Articles. Thus we see how disorder led to inquiry—inquiry to Monition or Injunction—these, again, to Visitations. The Interrogatories in these Visitations were issued for a definite purpose. They were the primary means the Bishops adopted to secure obedience and conformity. The occasions that led to them are very interesting. Thus for instance, in the diocese of Norwich, where a custom seems to have prevailed of septennial instead of triennial Visitations, disorders were perpetually cropping up (owing possibly to the longer interval). Such the Visitation Articles of Parker in 1567‡ were designed to meet, and from this time, as *Puritanism* was certainly more rife than *Popery*, the Articles of Inquiry will be found to bear testimony to the fact.

In 1569 the progress of Puritanism led to another Order of Council, and to a fresh Visitation of Parker, one Article of which proves the motive that prompted it by its reference to "Secret conventicles, preachings, lectures, and readings contrary to law."§

These "Prophesyings," or, as we should now call them, "Bible readings," which at first had received official sanction, became the means, real or supposed, of a political propaganda. Hence their suppression.

Besides the Visitations almost annually recorded of the Bishops, in 1571 we have again the Queen's Letter to Parker‖ "for uniformity in Church matters"—Grindal's Injunctions and great Visitations in the North.¶ Then follows "An Act to reform certain dis-

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* Strype's Life of Parker, fol. 151, &c.
† Strype's Life of Parker, fol. 154.
‡ Cardwell's Doc. Ann., Vol. I., 303.
§ Cardwell's Doc. Ann., Vol. I., 320.
‖ Strype's Life of Parker, fol. 330.
¶ Strype's Life of Grindal, fol. 168.

orders touching the Ministers of the Church."* In 1573, "A Proclamation against depravers or breakers of orders prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer." Then too the discovery of a solitary Popish rood in a church in the Norwich Diocese created a commotion. A commission, and a Parochial Visitation followed as a matter of course.†

It would be easy thus to go through, year by year, the multiplied official Acts for preserving order and uniformity, the Injunctions and Visitations of the Bishops keeping pace, nor do we find any deviation in practice till our own days.

Accustomed as we are to hear of the Injunctions of Elizabeth and Edward, we must not forget those that followed during either the Stuart or the Hanoverian period of our history. Laud, arbitrary and illegal as he was in much that he did, was not always wrong,—certainly not in the spirit of energetic zeal with which he discharged the duties of his episcopate. The Injunctions issued at his instance were not always to be cavilled at—notably one set which affected the Visitation Articles long after. In 1633 Laud caused Royal Injunctions (drawn up and presented by himself in 1629) to be published.‡ The second and third Articles of these *ordered the use of the Academic gown in preaching*. This has strangely been regarded in our own days as an Evangelical delinquency. These Injunctions are interesting because we possess in Bishop Kennett's History§ the certificates returned from every Diocese in reply, in the month of January of four successive years, 1634, 1635, 1636, 1637; and because the Visitation Articles immediately after 1633 exhibit for the *first time* queries respecting the use of the College gown in preaching, with the addition at times—"according to his Majesty's recent *orders*, or *injunctions*, or *instructions*."‖ In the Collection of Visitation Articles we possess at the close of the second volume of the Report of the Ritual Commission, there are no fewer than twelve sets, inquiring in some special Article as to loyal obedience in the use of this vestment for preachers.

When we come nearer to our own time, the days of George I., we find Injunctions issued with reference to what is considered even now by some to be another Evangelical delinquency. Though it has a peculiar historical cause and a High Church origin—the practice of using a short Collect or Lord's Prayer, or both before the Sermon. The High Church clergy, who sympathized with the Pretender, seem to have then commenced the practice. Their consciences would not allow them to say all about King George the Bidding prayer of the 55th Canon prescribes. Hence they sought refuge in the simple device of omitting it altogether. In 1714, on the 11th December, Injunctions or Directions were issued "to the Arch-

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* Strype's Ann. of Ref., Vol. II., pt. 1, 105.
† Strype's Life of Parker, fol. 450. ‡ Cardwell's Doc. Ann., Vol. II., 177.
§ Kennett's History of England, Vol. III., p. 73 et seq.
‖ Report Rit. Comm., Vol. II., 541, &c.

bishops and Bishops for the preserving unity in the Church, and the purity of the Christian Faith concerning the Holy Trinity, and also for preserving the peace and quiet of the State."*

Of these the Sixth runs thus:—

"Whereas we are credibly informed that it is the manner of some in every diocese, before their sermon either to use a Collect and the Lord's Prayer, or the Lord's Prayer only (which the 55th Canon prescribes as the conclusion of the prayer) and not the whole prayer, or at least to leave out our titles by the said Canon required to be declared and recognized, We do further direct that you require your Clergy in their prayer before sermon that they do keep strictly to the form in the said Canon contained, or to the full effect thereof."

As usual, this Monition has left its trace in the Visitation Articles. In the last two sets of the collection previously referred to, we have the one for the Churchwardens in the Archdeaconry of Durham, being the Visitation of Archdeacon Booth. The date is imperfect, the last figure being omitted, and a note suggests between 1710 and 1720. What we have said places it most probably in 1715. The question asked is:—

"Doth [your minister] use any other prayer before sermon in the pulpit than what is required by the Canon?"

In the next and last set of the Collection, those of Archdeacon Stanley, of London, 1728, we find:—

"Does your Minister use the form of Prayer before the sermon, as he is directed by the Canon? and in that pray for our sovereign lord King George, as supreme governor over all persons and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal?"†

To the lifeless condition of the Church during the last century we may attribute some unhappy consequences which survive. A habit has spread of treating matters of conscience as matters of form. Some seem to accept the Articles and Homilies as a mere formality, and some to undertake their ordination vows as part of a ceremonial. The internal history of the Church since the Reformation seems to be almost forgotten, and the lines of administrative procedure to be well nigh obliterated.

An indefinite impression exists also that somehow we are under a totally altered condition of things—that there has been a new point of departure both for Church discipline and for Church doctrine.

The progress we have made from a Personal to a Constitutional Monarchy may have much to do with the conception some entertain of the relations between the Crown and the Church. Else the Royal Supremacy would not be challenged, nor this Hanoverian epoch present such a marked contrast to Tudor times. And in this contrast nothing is so remarkable as the paralysis which has affected our Ecclesiastical authorities during the present reign. If we examine our Records, we find scarcely any traces of repressive action

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* Rapin, Hist. of Eng., Vol. IV. (1746), p. 413.

† Report Ritual Comm., Vol. II., p. 680.

on the part of our Hierarchy during the rise and progress of this Romeward movement. The supremacy of the Crown has never asserted itself, save in ordering the use or disuse of a few special services. The action of the Episcopate has been confined to a few unheeded addresses or futile declarations in Convocation. The only indications of vigour to be met with were the steps taken by the University of Oxford, when it suspended Dr. Pusey from preaching for two years, in 1843; when it condemned Mr. Ward's book, "The Ideal of a Christian Church," and deprived him of his degrees in 1845; and the recent Act introduced by the Primate for the Regulation of Public Worship—an Act which, to judge from their utterances, some of the Bishops would fain reduce to a practical nullity.

An impartial observer, reviewing the history of the last thirty years, would, we fear, place upon the Bench of Bishops the chief responsibility for the lamentable spread of the Ritualistic leaven. The Ritual Commission, if it did nothing else, furnished a body of evidence as to the settled law and usages of the Church in the Visitation Articles of their predecessors, which should have supplied our Bishops with incentives to prompt measures, and checked the delegation of defending what is committed to their charge to the voluntary action of the Laity.

Why, may we ask, have the precedents of former times not been followed? Why was it more lawful for Archbishop Parker than for Archbishop Tait to issue a "Book of Orders" to meet irregularities under the sanction of the last clause of Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity which still governs us? Why were Injunctions issued down to the days of George I., and why have they ceased in the days of Victoria?—Injunctions, be it remembered to *enforce the Law, not to enact the Law.*—Why have such Injunctions, Royal and Episcopal, never been promulgated, and never been supported by the whole power of the Episcopate through their Visitation Articles? If we *possessed*, by means of *a Parliamentary Return*, these Visitation Articles for the present reign, we fear they would betray a striking deviation from the *purpose, spirit*, and *form* of those which preceded them.* An inquiry into their purport might reveal no trace whatever of the decisions of the Supreme Court of Law on the fifty-nine points of Ritualistic illegality instead of being *primarily* and *emphatically applied to enforce such judgments.* Triennially issued, these Visitation Articles ought long since to have brought the Bishops into collision with the rebellion and stubbornness which mar the Church. The manifestation of their good will would soon have been fortified by the accession of whatever power was mani-

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* For example. The body of Visitation Articles we possess extends from 1561 to 1720. There is not one set, speaking generally, which does not somehow prescribe the use, or somehow inquire into the use of *the surplice* for *prayers* and *sacraments*. Now, when Romish Mass garments have been foisted on the Church, and declared *illegal*, a set of Articles of the present time mildly asks, "*Is your Minister properly habited?*" a question Mr. Tooth's churchwardens would as gladly answer as Canon Ryle's!

festly wanting. With the exception of one or two of the Northern Dioceses, it would appear, after careful inquiry, as if no question bearing upon the specific *requirements of the Canons and Rubrics with reference to the details and accessories of Public Worship have been asked at all.* Thus it is, that when a startling revelation is made, a happy ignorance is pleaded, and each day's delay is fraught with fatal mischief to the peace and stability of the Church.

Two fallacies underlie the sterile policy we deplore. The first —a *theory of comprehensiveness,* which aims at a *modus vivendi* for the enemies of the Reformation within the pale of the Reformed Church, rather than a *modus vivendi* for the Church itself—a comprehensiveness which can only be realized by the abrogation of all cardinal and distinctive principles. The plea of retaining Romanizers amongst us on the score of excellent moral worth and indefatigable zeal loses all force when we remember that these men are not more excellent than Sancroft and Ken, or than Newman and Manning. The spirit of such comprehensiveness differs widely from that of the grand old High Churchman, Sancroft, which he recommended to his Episcopal brethren in a series of Eleven Articles sent to all the Bishops within his Metropolitan Jurisdiction on July 26, 1688. The letter that accompanies them states—"The zeal that he expresses in these Articles both against the *corruptions of the Church of Rome,* and the *unhappy differences that are among Protestants,* are such apostolical things that all good men rejoice to see so great a Prelate at the head of our Church, who, in this critical time, has had the courage to do his duty in so signal a manner."

In the Eleventh of these memorable Articles he exhorts them—"More especially that they have a very tender regard to our Brethren the *Protestant Dissenters*—that upon occasion they visit them at their houses, and receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly whenever they meet them, discoursing calmly and civilly with them—persuading them (if it may be) to a full compliance with our Church, or, at least that whereto we have already attained we may all walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing, and in order hereunto that they take all opportunities of assuring, and convincing them—that the *Bishops of this Church are really and sincerely irreconcilable enemies to the errors, superstitions, idolatries, and tyrannies of the Church of Rome,* and that the very unkind jealousies which some have had of us to the contrary were altogether groundless."

"And in the last place that they warmly and affectionately exhort them to join with us in daily fervent prayer to the God of peace for an *universal blessed union* of all Reformed Churches both at home and abroad."*

The second fallacy which supplies a reason for not dealing summarily with Ritualistic irregularities is the plea—that irregularities are not confined to them—a deliberate confusion between matters of

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* Ritual Comm. Report, Vol. II. p. 657.

conscience, and matters of *convenience*. Of these counter-charges some are not irregularities at all—others are simply matters of convenience affecting no vital principle or doctrine whatever. Whereas Ritualistic innovations attack not only Church order, but Church doctrine also. No one objects to elasticity, where no essential principle is at stake. Conscience does not progress with the age, and if Truth be immutable, its safeguards should be kept intact.

The responsibilities implied by the Ordination Services would suggest to the simplicity of the Lay mind some such procedure as we have historically inferred—Injunctions, Royal and Episcopal, to enforce conformity with the law when disturbed or decided, followed by *Visitation Articles directed to every special point to which obedience is demanded and due.*

To fulfil the obligation—"to punish the disobedient"—implies an Injunction withstood and some effort to ascertain the fact—*an aggrieved Bishop*, not an "*aggrieved parishioner;*" whilst the promise "to be ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine, contrary to God's word, and both *privately* and *openly* to call upon and encourage others to do the same," coincides, though in a contradictory sense, with the Bishop of Winchester's declaration, that "the Bishops demur to be made the residuary legatees of the Church Association." The place of the Bishops is certainly not in the rear, but in the van. Their duty is "to call upon others," not "to be called upon" to execute "faithful diligence" in eradicating error.

With reference to the *punishment* which must be the support of power, our forefathers also teach us a lesson. In the record of the memorable Convocation of 1562, to which the Church of England is so largely indebted for its existence and permanency, we find a schedule of "certain things to be moved by the Clergy," among them directions for the Clergy to catechize their parishioners every Wednesday, Friday, and Holyday, at which times it is prescribed, "the said parsons shall take occasion to give some private godly admonitions to their parishioners, if they know any fault or offences in them."—But—

"What priest or minister soever under colour hereof shall practise *Auricular Confession*, shall be deprived of all his livings and deposed from the Ministry."*

With the exercise of their power in the well-worn track of their predecessors, the Bishops at an incipient stage of the Ritualistic plague might have "stamped it out." As it is, their duty is none the less clear, though long delay has made it more distasteful and difficult. To face the compacted defiance of Law—the organized revolt against authority, spiritual as well as temporal, strong in discipline, and directed by consummate ability, is to bring matters to

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* Cardwell, Synodalia, Vol. II., 512.

an inevitable crisis, and instead of reducing the Public Worship Regulation Act to a dead letter, to amend it in the direction of a more speedy and summary repression of lawlessness. The reply of certain Bishops to the representations of the Laity—"that they have no power"—is met by the inquiries, Have they ever exercised to its fullest extent that which they already possess? Have they established their *good will* in the matter? By the fallacy of a theory of comprehensiveness we are not convinced. We believe that Bishops are *Overseers* of that which is right, not *Overlookers* of that which is wrong. The precise history as well as the definite principles of the "Protestant Reformed Religion established by law," leave them no alternative but to vindicate their faithfulness by following the footsteps of their forefathers and by vitalizing moribund forms with an honest reality before they supplement a negative policy with a negation of responsibility.

Note I.

In a communication received by the writer from an eminent friend on this subject, the following pregnant remarks occur:—

"One point I think might be brought out which accounts for the change between the Elizabethan Visitations and those of our own day. At the Reformation period the Bishops *actually visited* their Churches and Clergy, either themselves or by their Archdeacons (their substitutes, the Rural Deans, had then no existence, or at least were merely a name), and the result was that the Church was 'overseen' and not 'overlooked.' At present all the Clergy go to meet, and really *to visit the Bishop*, who thus becomes the *visited* instead of the *visitor*. His Visitation questions undergo a corresponding change. They become beautifully reticent, gently suggesting to churchwardens that they may make *presentments* if they like, but evidently assuming that it is better for them to keep the peace. Then the Bishop delivers a charge which generally consists of . . . . expressions of delight at the growing influence of our 'pure and Apostolic Church,' and dilation upon the theme. Then comes a list of Churches built, schools enlarged, Diocesan arrangements, a hint at passing controversies, a peroration and the Benediction. This is my thirty-five years' experience of Episcopal charges. Then follows the luncheon, speeches 'en suite,' congratulations, thanks to Archdeacons, Rural Deans, &c.

"Certainly an Episcopal Visitation in Elizabeth's reign was made of sterner stuff. I do not find that then there were any 'charges,' so called. These, I think, are modern innovations. But there *was* a great *looking into Churches*, and making very *strict inquiries*, which course, had it been pursued in the Ridsdale case by our good Archbishop, would to my certain knowledge have been a much more efficacious plan than the one adopted."

No. II.

The Visitation Articles.

To prevent individual whim, bias, and diversity, as well as to maintain uniformity in details of worship, on two different occasions, a *Book of Visitation Articles* to be *always* and *universally used* was drawn up and sanctioned by Convocation.

Enacted by the Convocation of 1640, the *IXth Canon* runs thus:—

"One Book of Articles of Enquiry to be used at all Parochial Visitations."

"For the better settling of an uniformity in the outward Government and administration of the Church, and for the more preventing of just grievances which may be laid upon Churchwardens and other sworn men by any impeachment, inconvenient, or illegal enquiries in the Articles for Ecclesiastical Visitations, this Synod hath now caused a Summary or Collection of Visitory Articles (out of the Rubrics of the Service Book and the Canons and warrantable rules of the Church), to be made, and for future direction to be deposited in the Records of the Archbishop of Canterbury," &c.—*Sparrow's Collections*, p. 365.

Again in the Convocation, 1661.

June 21. "The Bishop of London sitting President, and the Archbishop of York with the Bishops of Durham and Chester appearing there, a Debate was had for the drawing up of one uniform Book of Articles of Enquiry to be used in the Visitation of every Bishop referred to a Committee of both Houses, with a desire to the Bishops of the Province of York to be present, and to assist in that business."

Convocation, 1662.

Feb. 22. "In the next Session the Upper House made some further progress in revising the Canons and Constitutions made in 1640, and in drawing up a Book of Articles to be used in every Episcopal Visitation."

"March 8. John, Bishop of Durham, delivered into the hands of the President, *A Book of Articles to be used in Visitations*, which was ordered to be transmitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury for his Grace's perusal and corrections."—*Bishop Kennett's Hist.* Vol. III., p. 234.

Cardwell, in his *Synodalia*, Vol. II., p. 666, says that it was "unanimously" ordered to be so transmitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The question is—*Where are these Books of Visitation Articles?* Gibson, in his *Codex* (Vol. II. p. 962), mentions the works of both Convocations of 1640 and 1662, and concludes thus:—"But what became of either of the draughts that are thus mentioned in the Convocations of 1640 and 1662 I have not heard." Phillimore, in his *Ecclesiastical Law* (Vol. II. p. 1353), says:—"By reason of several disputes which have been made concerning the Articles of Inquiry,

the Convocation has sometimes attempted to frame one general body of Articles of Visitation, but the same as yet has not been brought to effect."

Both statements involve inaccuracy. We have shown that the Convocations of 1640 and 1662 both *completed their work*. The former deposited their Book in the "Records of the Archbishops of Canterbury," to be used ever after "for future direction." It is a matter of moral certainty that the Convocation of 1661-62 had this book of 1640 before them to adopt or revise.

Both books of 1640 and 1662 are discovered by collateral and internal evidence to be imbedded in the valuable collection of Visitation Articles furnished from the Bodleian Library to the Ritual Commissioners, and printed at the end of the second volume of their Report. The Bodleian copy of Juxon's Articles, 1640, is endorsed with a note to the effect that these were the authorized Articles of Convocation of that very year. Heylin,* in his *Life of Laud*, goes into the history of their framing and issue, and establishes beyond doubt that those of Juxon (1640) are the veritable work of Convocation. He says:—"Nor did the framing or compiling of the Book of Articles give any stop at all to him (Heylin) to whom the digesting of them was committed, from attending the service of the Committee, and the House upon all occasions, though for the better authority of them he had placed in *the margin*, *the Canon*, *Rubric*, *Law*, *Injunction*, or other *authentic evidence* upon which it was grounded, which, being finished in good time, was by him openly read in the House, and *by the House approved and passed* without alteration; but that an exegetical or explanatory clause, in the fourth article of the fourth chapter, touching the reading of the second or Communion Service at the Lord's Table was desired by some to be omitted, which was done accordingly. Which Articles being too many and too long to be inserted, the Reader may *consult in the Printed Book* first published for the Visitation of the Bishop of London (Juxon), and by him fitted in some points (the *addition* of three or four special inquiries) for the use of his diocese." Then, after giving the Canon, above quoted (p. 14), Heylin adds:—"To which a clause was added in the House of Bishops, giving a latitude to themselves for *adding* some articles peculiar to their several jurisdictions for the space of three years. The same to be allowed by their Metropolitan, afterwards to content themselves with the said Articles, so enlarged and accommodated, for all times succeeding." —*Heylin's Life of Laud*, fol. 441.

* It was Heylin himself who brought forward the motion in Convocation "for one uniform Book of Articles." To him the task was committed of drawing them up. "The motion, backed by these reasons, did so well please the Prolocutor, with the rest of the clergy, that they desired the Doctor, in pursuit of his own project, to undertake the compiling of the said Book of Articles, and to present it to the House with all convenient speed." *Barnard's Life of Heylin*, cxxi. (Pref. to *Heylin's Hist. of Ref.* Vol. 1. Eccles. History Society. 1847).

Heylin here speaks of "*the Printed Book.*"* It would naturally be first issued through the Bishop of London, in accordance with the function he discharges as Dean of the College of Bishops. The articles of Juxon (1640) to which we refer in the collection in the Report of the Ritual Commissioners exactly fulfil the characteristics given by Heylin. These, as well as those of 1662, of which we shall presently speak, differ from all other sets of Visitation Articles in the methodical, exhaustive arrangement of the inquiries upon every point of Ritual and order—in giving in the margin of each question the Canon, Rubric, Injunction, or Order by which it is authorized, and in showing the Articles *added* by Juxon, specially for the London Diocese, printed in *Roman type different from the rest.* This Book of 1640, thus printed and issued, was doubtless before the Convocation of 1661-62. In the session of June 21, 1661, a Committee of the Lower House was appointed to assist the Bishops aforesaid (p. 14) in conjunction with the Bishops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Oxford, Lincoln, Salisbury, and Gloucester. Among the names of those selected from the Lower House we find that of Pory, Archdeacon of Middlesex. The issue of this book, as in the former case, would be through the diocese of London. Accordingly we find the articles of Pory, 1662, exactly fulfilling the same methodical, exhaustive plan, almost identical with those of 1640, and each article with a marginal reference to the particular Canon, Rubric, Injunction, or Order quoted. We have a moral certainty, therefore, that we possess both Books. They are most important at this crisis, because they show most explicitly the mind of the two most High Church Convocations, of the Laudian school, upon all those points of Ritual which have been wantonly invented and contrived to disturb and perplex the Church. They give a clear interpretation of every contested practice. Being thus established upon the Rubrics and Canons, and framed *after* the *Revision of the Prayer Book* and by the same Convocation that revised it, they furnish a running commentary upon it, from first to last.

The following important conclusions may be briefly stated:

1. Both Books of 1640 and 1662 recognize the validity of the Canons of 1571, the Canons of 1603, the Injunctions and Advertisements of Elizabeth, the Book of Orders issued by Parker (*see* p. 6 *supra*), and the Injunctions of Laud, 1629.

2. They utterly negative and forbid every distinctive feature of the Ritualistic development.

3. "Concerning Churches, the *ornaments*, utensils, and other necessaries to the same belonging," they ask, "if the Ten Commandments are set up at the East end of the church, where the people can best see and read them?" (not buried under the chancel floor as Mr. Tooth devised!)

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* In a list of 44 works written by Heylin, given at p. ccviii. of *Barnard's Life of Heylin* (*Hist. of Ref.* Ecc. Hist. Society, Vol. 1, 1847) we find, marked No. 11, as having been printed and published:—"An uniform Book of Articles, fitted for Bishops and Archbishops, in their Visitations. 1640."

They prescribe "a decent and convenient table for the celebration of the Holy Communion," "a carpet of silk," "a fair linen cloth," "a communion cup or chalice," "flagon, font, pulpit"—not a word as to two candlesticks, cross or crucifix, super altar, reredos, or any Mass-ward infliction or infraction.

4. They ask (Canon 58), "Have you a comely decent surplice, *with sleeves* (this is important, because it excludes the *Alb*, and consequently the *Chasuble*, since the latter is worn with the former), for the use of your Minister in saying the public prayers, and *ministering the Sacraments*, and other rites of the Church, together with an university hood according to the degree of your said Minister? And doth the Parson, Vicar, or Curate use the same *as often* as he officiates God's public service, *administereth the Sacraments*," &c.?

5. Both books prescribe the use of the black gown for preaching. "Doe your Lecturer or Lecturers preach in their gownes, and not in their cloaks, according to His Majesty's Injunctions. An. 1629?"

6. They utterly dispose of the contemptible and childish subterfuge of the "Directorium Anglicanum," which elaborates a drawing to show that the "North side of the Table" means the north side of the man, who stands at the middle of the East side (a device to the shame of common sense largely acted upon!) They thus state—"The Minister standing as he is appointed at the *North side, or end* of the table when he prepares to celebrate the Holy Communion."

7. They show what High Churchmen thought about *wafer bread* by asking—"Is the bread provided for the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper of the *best and purest wheat bread* that may be conveniently gotten?"

In fact, with these authorized High Church standards in the hands of our Bishops, there is not room for any single extravagance or innovation of Ritualism whatever.

It is a subject of historical curiosity to know why these Books of Visitation Articles are so scarce. The draughts may have perished with the Acts of Convocation in the Great Fire of 1666, or they may still be somewhere in existence. But *printed copies* may be fairly supposed to be in Cathedral Libraries or elsewhere. The attention of those who are interested in the history of our Reformed Church is invited to the matter wherever they are able to make search or inquiry. By so doing they may render signal help at this critical time, when the Church of England is in the throes of a struggle upon which her very existence depends.

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61h Thousand.]

No. LXIII.

THE BEST MEANS OF AROUSING AND SUSTAINING PUBLIC OPINION ON THE SUBJECT OF THE CONFESSIONAL AND OTHER ILLEGAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE RITUALISTS, SO AS TO SECURE EFFECTUAL CO-OPERATION WHENEVER THE OPPORTUNITY OFFERS.

By the REV. W. F. TAYLOR, D.D.,

VICAR OF EVERTON, LIVERPOOL.

Paper read at the Autumn Conference of the Church Association, held in the Masonic Hall, New Street, Birmingham, on Wednesday, November 7th, 1877.

The subject which I have to open for your consideration this afternoon is, "The best means of arousing and sustaining public opinion on the subject of the Confessional and other illegal proceedings of the Ritualists, so as to secure effectual co-operation whenever the opportunity occurs."

The inquiry proposed in this subject, involves a nearer and an ultimate end. It aims at an immediate result with a view to something more remote, but more important. The object immediately aimed at is the "arousing and sustaining," creating and preserving in active exercise, public opinion on certain matters,—the Confessional and other Ritualistic illegalities,—the end ultimately contemplated is "effectual co-operation against such evils when the opportunity occurs." The formation then of an active public opinion and effectual co-operation with respect to its object, is what we need—and we are invited to consider the best means of accomplishing this end.

Our subject is eminently a practical one, and it proceeds in due logical order. We want action; but in order to intelligent action we must have enlightened public opinion; and in order to enlightened public opinion we must make use of the appropriate means of diffusing information.

Thus only can we attain the grand result, action, decisive and effective, with all its blessed consequences—the purification, and therefore, the preservation of our National Church as the fairest

daughter of the Reformation, and the surest bulwark of civil and religious liberty.

But, indeed, I feel as if it were almost waste of time still further to discuss this subject. We have had, in one sense, talk enough. But, unfortunately, there are thousands of our fellow-countrymen and countrywomen, who require to be aroused and instructed on this subject—and therefore, we must once again undergo the wearisome task of inquiring as to the best means of accomplishing that end. We are, but they are not, ready for action, and until they are, we must just go on creating and sustaining that mighty formative force called Public Opinion, which like a mighty torrent sweeping all before it, ultimately in the long run, sooner or later, determines all public questions in this free land of ours.

In answer then to the question, What are the best means for the object we aim at? I reply in two words,

Information and Organization.

Information: full, complete, accurate, sharp and well-defined,—Organization: thorough, effective, compact; but on our own distinctive, well-defined lines.

These two thoughts will require and bear a little expansion. The very first thing to be done is to give our people the fullest and most accurate information on the subjects indicated in the matter under consideration. It is absurd to expect people to take action until they know the merits of the case—and it is not only absurd, but it is undesirable. Let others be content if only they can secure the co-operation of others, it is the genius of intelligent Christianity to enlist the reason and the conscience, as well as the feelings, affections, and emotions as its allies. Our service is a reasonable one, and God does not require the sacrifice of fools, but the willing homage of intelligent reason, and the consecration of all our powers in the cause of the truth.

The subject of the Confessional then should be wisely and soberly brought before the people. What better use could be made of the pulpit than to occupy it for two or three successive Sunday evenings on this subject, due announcement being made beforehand so as to give timely opportunity for those to come who wish to—and for those to absent themselves who have no such desire. The teaching of the Bible on the subject of Confession and Absolution would form an admirable and instructive sermon. The teaching of the Church of England in her Prayer Book—another; and the decisive utterances of her Homilies, a third.

The subject thus judiciously and soberly handled, with a studied abstention from all mere declamation and vituperation, which only injures a good cause, would be productive of the greatest good. In the hands of any fairly instructed scribe what a blessed opportunity of preaching the Gospel in its purity, and bringing out patiently and exhaustively, the teaching of the Word of God. And what a happy opportunity in the hands of any intelligent clergyman, fairly instructed in the history of the Prayer Book in its successive

revisions to bring out, as with a pencil of light, the clear and distinct teaching of our Church on the subject.

On this subject I cannot but feel that it would be well to point out the fact that the indicative form, "I absolve thee," &c. in the Visitation of the Sick, and the formula, "whose sins thou dost forgive," &c. as part of the Ordination Service, are not ancient, but only date from the 12th century; and that whilst, as retained and to some extent explained by the Reformers, they must be understood in harmony with the doctrines laid down in the Articles, yet, if necessary, in order to prevent abuse, the Church has perfect authority to remove them altogether, should she think fit, and in so doing be only still further reverting to primitive custom. The Episcopal Church of America and the Church of Ireland have already taken action in this direction.

From a very considerable experience, I can bear the most decided testimony as to the readiness of the people to receive such instruction — rather the anxiety and thirst for information which they exhibit. But the information must be above all things accurate and full; no loose statements either as to the errors we oppose or the truth which we maintain. It is of the very first importance that we should lay down clear definitions—not talking in a haze, and using words in two or three different senses, which only confound the hearers, so that they are at a loss to know what we are driving at. Let us clearly lay down what we object to. Let us take the statements of our opponents on the subject of their doctrines and practices and not misrepresent them by imputing either motives or doctrines which they disavow. Indeed there is no need that we should do so—it is not only dishonest—but unnecessary, for the Ritualists openly, and in the most unambiguous language, propound their views. Immense harm is done to the cause of truth by misrepresentation of our opponents' doctrines, or by not accurately stating them in their own words.

As to the importance of defining our subject, the example of Archbishop Cranmer is one which may well be followed. In the preface to his great work on the Lord's Supper, he carefully defines and distinguishes between two very different senses in which he uses the word "sacrament," the careful remembrance of which would preserve us from a whole cloud of loose or inaccurate views on that subject.

In dealing therefore with the subject of the Confessional, very especial care should be taken to show what it is to which we object—not confession of sins, for that is a duty plainly enjoined in Scripture—nor the authoritative declaration of pardon and remission of sins to the penitent; for that is at once the duty and the privilege of the ambassador of Christ—but what we object to is this—that confession of sins to a priest is in any way necessary in order to obtain forgiveness of sins from God. Repentance and Faith are the only two conditions of pardon appointed by God, and it is a foul corruption of the Gospel to teach, however sincerely, on the part of those

who do so, that the Confessional is God's divinely appointed method of pardon. It is not only destructive of all true Christian liberty; all manly Christian independence; but it is enslaving, enfeebling, and demoralizing alike to priest and penitent.

The subject of the Confessional thus quietly, calmly, but seriously, scripturally and chastely treated with all the dignity and authority of the pulpit, I believe to be one of the best measures for arousing and sustaining public opinion on the subject.

The Bishop of Winchester has recently stated that "one of his clergy, to whom he had written on the subject of Confession, told him that many came to him and almost forced the practice upon him." . . . Poor man! I wonder how it is that people never come to me for this purpose. And I cannot but ask the question—how far this desire of the people for Confession has been suggested or encouraged by the teaching from the pulpit? It seems very odd to me that people should of themselves, without such encouragement or assurance of sympathy, come forward for that purpose. And hence I must candidly confess that I attach no importance whatever to this excuse—for excuse I hold it to be. Of one thing I am perfectly convinced, and it is this: that if there were no absolution given by the priest, there would be no confession by the people. And it is nothing less than dishonest and disloyal on the part of any clergyman to use any form of absolution in private confessions, seeing that the Church has deliberately withdrawn the permission to do so. On this important subject—the Confessional—therefore the Pulpit must do its part to guard our young Church people from its demoralizing and enslaving tyranny. And so of all the other illegal proceedings indicated in the subject entrusted to my consideration this afternoon. There are few of them indeed which could not be wisely brought before the congregation from time to time. The Pulpit thus employed by the faithful clergy could do much to help us in the present crisis. It was the Pulpit which, under God, largely helped to give us the Reformation; it must be the Pulpit which shall largely do its part to preserve it. And I therefore venture respectfully to press this point, because there is, I fear, a too-morbid dread of anything like controversy in the pulpit, and because it is an instrumentality ready to our hands, involving no expense, and comparatively but little trouble. Of course, the grand design of the Pulpit is the preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and Him crucified; and it would be a sad day when that grand and glorious subject, Heaven's blessed message of salvation, should be ever obscured or shelved by others—least of all, should the Evangelical clergy ever err in this way. But now and again, on Sunday evenings, for example, what would be more profitable than a course of quiet expository lectures on our Communion Office, beginning with the introductory Rubrics (notably the fourth or north-side Rubric) and ending up with the so-called Black Rubric, with its clear declaration against the Corporal Presence and that "Idolatry which is to be abhorred of all faithful Christians?"

Besides the Pulpit, however, we have two other agencies—the Platform and the Press.

I do not mean by the Platform mere platform oratory, for which I entertain no higher opinion than other reasonable men—but I mean the Platform as the means of diffusing popular information; not for creating prejudice or exciting amusement, which, after all, ill becomes the gravity of the subjects with which we have to deal. Our school-rooms and our lecture-halls might be well employed to a greater extent than they are, in giving information, arousing and sustaining public opinion. Mere clap-trap is of little avail. Fierce denunciations of our opponents break no bones; empty protests against this and that erroneous doctrine or practice do not count for much. Men's feelings are excited, and the pent-up stream is evaporated; but what is the nett result? It is not at all commensurate with the noise. *Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis tempus eget.* Calm, quiet, but determined action; clear, sharp, defined and accurate statements; arguments based on logic, facts, history; and above all the Word of God—these are what will best serve our turn. We need no stronger language than the deliberate statements of our Church in her noble confession of Faith, the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. We care not to go beyond them—and we dare not fall short of them.

Objections are sometimes made by our friends as to the practical utility of meetings. We have our speeches, our plaudits, our indignant protests that John Bull would not stand this, and would not stand that, and so on; and then it is asked, what does it all come to? Far be it from me to say that there is not vastly too much truth in all this; but public meetings are useful notwithstanding, and might be made more so. If speeches gave information on some one point, the people would go away enlightened and taught. One or two points driven home into the intelligence and convictions of the people, would become living principles of action sooner or later. And I would suggest also that our meetings should not close with mere resolutions expressive of opinions, but resolutions embodying *action*, and especially constitutional action. It is the right of the subjects to petition the Crown, and if the Crown then most certainly to address and memorialize lesser authorities. I would have therefore our meetings made practical by the adoption of a memorial to the Crown or the Parliament, or the Ecclesiastical authorities. These documents duly signed and forwarded, must be formally acknowledged and their answers made public. In that way, not only public opinion would be created and formulated, but an amount of pressure would be brought to bear on those in authority which they would find it very difficult to resist. As long as we confine ourselves to mere lectures or public meetings, without the action I have indicated, the *vis inertiæ* of our authorities will not be even touched; but acted on as I have indicated, they must move. There may be but little sympathy on the part of those to whom we appeal, but the parable of the importunate widow should not be lost upon us.

The judge feared not God nor regarded man, and yet she gained her cause; our judges, we believe, both fear God and man, and surely we may confidently expect redress if they are rightly and respectfully approached.

Then, lastly, we have the Press, the fourth estate of the realm. Our Society does good service in that way already by its admirable papers, pamphlets, leaflets, and above all by its *Monthly Intelligencer*. We the Clergy and the branches do not, I fear, make sufficient use of these abundant materials. The circulation of the *Intelligencer* might be largely increased. There are but few of our people who could not afford 5*s* or 2*s* 6*d* per annum, and for this the *Intelligencer* would be supplied. Why should not a large number be sold monthly at the selling price, for a penny each? If arrangements were made by each Incumbent to have a parcel, say of 50 or 100, each month, to be sent to his vestry, he could easily furnish them to the subscribers in their pews. An increase of its circulation, and the monthly perusal of its contents, would do more to awaken and sustain public opinion on these subjects than perhaps anything else. I do not think it is possible to over-estimate the importance of this most valuable publication. It contains happily no editorial articles, but confines itself to giving a monthly report of proceedings bearing on our work, and the authenticity and accuracy of that report may be thoroughly relied on; it is thus a treasury of most valuable information.

I have left myself now but a short space to say a word on the second means suggested to attain the object aimed at, viz. ORGANIZATION. It is fully as important as information, but a few words must suffice. Union we know is strength. The small sands of the sea, when massed as they are in proper position, present a barrier which the proud billows cannot overpass. "Thus far," they say, "and no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed."

In living organisms it is still more manifest that without the bond of living unity which binds the separate atoms together, no worthy purpose could be accomplished. Ten thousand men may be individually brave as the heroes who fell at Thermopylæ, but without organization they would be but an undisciplined mob, and would fall before the organized and disciplined enemy like sheaves before the scythe. There must be organization, close, compact, thorough, and effective. But what shall be the basis of that organization? The answer to this is short, sharp and clear. We must organize *on our own distinctive lines and none other*—we must organize on the distinctive principles of the Reformation. There must be no widening of the area—it is wide enough and comprehensive enough; and to widen is to weaken. I would rather stand on three feet square of solid granite rock than in the midst of a wide and treacherous bog. I would rather stand shoulder to shoulder with three hundred loyal men, good and true, like those who lapped water at the well of Harod, and whose war cry was "the sword of the Lord and of Gideon," than with the ten thousand who bowed down to drink.

I would rather stand side by side with the faithful few whose motto is "no surrender," or with Bishop Hall, "No peace with Rome," or Rome's allies, till they make peace with God, than with ten times the number of those of whose principles I was not certain and on whose fidelity therefore I could not in the hour of conflict rely. I am convinced that a policy of *undue* comprehension beyond the lines of our own Protestant Reformation is a policy of compromise, weakness, and disaster. No—we must close in our ranks—we must come closer together—we must get well within the deeply drawn lines of our Thirty-nine Articles; we must abide by the Law as interpreted and decided by Her Majesty's Judges of the Highest Court of Appeal. Thus organized and thus firmly entrenched, we must draw the sword of the living God, the inspired Word, and fling away the scabbard—and firmly resolve to listen to no terms of compromise with those without the sacred boundaries of what we believe to be Scriptural, primitive and Apostolic truth.

Yes, we must organize; and to be practical and plain, what I mean is this:—We need no new organization—we have the Church Association. No tongue can adequately tell what England and England's Church owes to the labours of the Church Association for the manner in which it has, under God, nobly and completely vindicated the Protestant character of the Church. On the basis then of this Association, let us organize the Evangelical Churchmen of England. Let every Parish have its Parochial branch of this great Association. Our branches are now nearly 300. Why should they not be 3000, with 250,000 enrolled members or associates, with regular quarterly meetings to give and receive information, and to take counsel together as to the steps to be pursued, and constituting themselves into a Vigilance Committee for the whole neighbourhood.

Mr. Chairman, a network of 3000 such branches, all united together in fidelity to the principles of the Reformation and in love to Christ, spreading their ramifications throughout the land, penetrating into every remote nook, corner and cranny of the kingdom, with the threads of the organization in the hands of the Council in London, would indeed secure effectual co-operation on the part of Evangelical Churchmen whenever opportunity occurs.

There are some who suggest that both the English Church Union and the Church Association should disband themselves and thus produce peace, as they fondly and vainly imagine. Well we have not the least intention of doing so, as long as the necessity which first called us into existence continues. At the recent Congress, Canon Carter said that he did not wish for our extinction, but that we should confine ourselves to a policy of defence not aggression. This is exactly what we are doing. We deny that our policy is one of aggression and narrow-minded intolerance; we are bound together for the defence of the Gospel—for the defence of the distinctive principles of the Protestant Reformed Church of England. But surely that man is not an aggressor who finding a burglar breaking into his house would resist him—or finding a conspirator would

expel him from the citadel he would destroy—or finding some among the clergy openly declaring their intention to set up the Mass and Confessional which this Church has deliberately rejected, would take whatever steps might be necessary to prevent such a dread catastrophe!

The Bishop of Gloucester wishes from the bottom of his heart that neither of the two societies had ever come into existence. Still he does not fail to discriminate between them. "It must in simple fairness," he says, "be said that the Church Association was called into existence by the excesses and extravagance of the earlier society. If we would be equitable in our judgment the blame must be laid on the highly provocative and antagonistic action on the part of the older Society, which led to the formation of the powerful organization by which it is now held in check and confronted;" and he protested against that "undiscerning censure that represents both as equally culpable." We are thankful for this candid testimony—only we beg to say that we do not admit that we are culpable at all. On the contrary we have done but our plain duty in meeting a powerful disloyal organization as it only can be met—by equally powerful organization on the side of loyalty and truth, and the culpability rests on those who have made such an organization as ours necessary, or who stand aloof from it when every man is called upon to take his side. This is no time for neutrality. Our rulers may bewail what they are pleased to call "cabals and party societies and the party spirit which gives rise to them." Let them, we say respectfully, do their plain duty of enforcing obedience to plainly declared law on the part of the rebellious and disloyal, and one chief reason for the existence of the Church Association will have passed away. Let them simply do what in them lies to maintain the Church on its Reformation lines, by ceasing to excuse, compliment, patronize, and promote the disloyal; and the Church Association will be in fair way to disband itself. Until then we must go on diffusing information and extending organization, ready for action when the supreme moment arrives, but indignantly yet calmly denying that we are, in any true sense of the words, party men, or animated by a party spirit.

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14th Thousand.]

THEOLOGICAL INSTRUCTION OF CANDIDATES FOR THE MINISTRY.

By the REV. R. P. BLAKENEY, D.D.,

VICAR OF BRIDLINGTON.

Paper read at the Autumn Conference of the Church Association, held in the Masonic Hall, New Street, Birmingham, on Thursday, November 8th, 1877.

In the consideration of this subject, I am led to take a glance at the past, to notice existing arrangements for the education of the Clergy, and lastly to consider a practical proposal.

A glance at the past.

I. In looking at the past, it cannot be denied that while some in mediæval times attained to great theological learning, there was a vast amount of ignorance amongst the great body of the Clergy even as to the first principles of Scripture truth. This was a common subject of complaint. Evidence on the point is abundant in pastorals and Councils. Archbishop Bourchier, A.D. 1455, complained that Priests were established within the diocese of Canterbury "altogether ignorant."* The Bishop of Bitonto in the Council of Trent alleged that "vice and ignorance" were raised to "the highest honours."† Bishop Hooper, A.D. 1551, instituted an examination of "the Dean and Prebendaries and other Ministers, ministering (as the document proceeds) within the Cathedral Church of Gloucester, also of all and singular Prebendaries, Rectors, Vicars, and other Ministers within the entire diocese of Gloucester." The subjects of examination were the following:—

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* Wilkins iii. 573.

† Labbe's Counsels, p. 736. Lutet. Paris, 1612.

Of the Ten Commandments.

1. How many are the commandments of God? 2. Where are they written? 3. Whether can they recite them *memoriter?*

Of the Christian faith.

1. What are the articles of the Christian faith? 2. Whether can they recount them *memoriter?* 3. Whether can they prove them by authority of Scriptures?

Of the Lord's Prayer.

1. Whether can they recite *memoriter* the petitions of the Christian prayer?

2. How do they know it to be the Lord's prayer?

3. Where is it written?

A note in Hooper's later works, published by the Parker Society, is as follows:—"Here follows the examination of three hundred and eleven of the Clergy, one hundred and sixty-eight of whom were unable to repeat the Ten Commandments, thirty-one of that number being further unable to state in what part of the Scriptures they were to be found. There were forty who could not tell where the Lord's Prayer was written, and thirty-one of this number ignorant who was the author." When we consider these facts, I hardly think that we have need to sigh, as some do, for the return of mediæval theology, and the spirit which animated mediæval times.

The Reformers early recognized the importance of the scriptural education of the clergy. John Calvin (Jan. 1, 1551) wrote to King Edward VI. to encourage him in carrying on the work of Reformation. He urges especially that "the poor flock be not destitute of pastors." "Ignorance and barbarism have pressed so heavily in this accursed Papacy that it is not easy to obtain at the first attempt persons fit qualified to discharge that office." Our own Reformers were equally awake on the point. They had invited Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer to England, and placed them respectively in Oxford and Cambridge as Professors of Divinity. The public lectures of these theologians attracted great attention, and were blessed to multitudes of students and others. King Edward, in his journal, noted the fact, that when Bucer died at Cambridge, "the whole University with the whole town" accompanied his remains to the grave. On that occasion Dr. Haddon made an oration, and Dr. Parker, afterwards Primate, preached a funeral sermon. "The learned men of the University made their epitaphs in his praise."*

* King Edward's Remains. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. VII.

Mary ascended the throne in 1553, and then Peter Martyr returned to the Continent. Bradford, the martyr, in his "farewell to Cambridge," deplored the change:—"For thou, O Mother, art as it were *the eye of the realm.* If thou be light, and give shine, all the body shall fare better; but if thou 'the light be darkness,' alas! how great will the darkness be!"*

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne, a happier day dawned on England. The Papal supremacy was again abolished; the second Prayer Book of Edward VI., with some alterations, was restored, and men of God—confessors of the faith—were elevated to the Episcopal bench. But at this juncture the want of faithful ministers was deeply felt. Jewell, in 1559, wrote to Bullinger:—"Our Universities are so depressed and ruined that at Oxford there are scarcely two individuals who think with us."† In 1560, he wrote to Peter Martyr:—"In the meantime, our Universities, and more especially Oxford, are most sadly deserted: without learning, without lectures, without any regard to religion."‡ But notwithstanding this state of depression, God raised up good men to occupy the chairs of Divinity—men of the school of Whitgift—and so completely did Evangelical truth revive, under the blessing of God, that the *British Critic*, in 1842, complained that in the reign of Elizabeth, "Oxford, how different, how incongenial with every body's idea of the place now, was the very focus of Genevan influence." It describes it as Genevan because it adhered to the Thirty-nine Articles in their plain and obvious sense. Still, there was no systematic school of theology in which young men were trained for the ministry, but desultory efforts were made for the education of the clergy. For example, in 1586, such action was taken by Convocation that ministers were required to read, in addition to the Bible, a portion of Bullinger's Decades, and to note down the principal contents in a book to be provided for the purpose. The clergy were required to submit the notes for examination to appointed preachers, whose duty it was to make a report upon the same to the Ordinary. Any clergyman refusing to perform the exercise was liable to ecclesiastical censure: if a curate, he was to be inhibited to serve within the jurisdiction.§ I need hardly observe that the Decades of the great Helvetian divine were decidedly Evangelical. The whole current of theology in the Reformed Church of England was of the

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* Writings of Bradford, p. 443, P. S. † Zurich Letters, p. 33, P. S.
‡ Zurich Letters, p. 77. § Strype's Whitgift, p. 184, Vol. iii. Oxford, 1822.

same character until the introduction of a new system by Archbishop Laud.

A notice of existing arrangements for the education of the Clergy.

II. The system which is now pursued in clerical education comes next under consideration.

Of the numerous theological colleges, there are two especially, St. John's, Highbury, and St. Aidan's, Birkenhead, which I can commend from personal knowledge. Such colleges are useful in supplying the means of education to those who from various causes do not find it convenient to pursue a University course.

Of the Universities, Dublin took the lead in founding a systematic theological school. The Rev. Dr. Salmon, Professor of Divinity in that university, remarks that "so far back as 1833, a great change was made which provided a systematic course of theological education. Students of Divinity were required at the end of three years' studies in Arts to attend theological lectures for two more years, and at the end of each year to pass an examination on the subjects taught." The method pursued in the instruction of students combines the prelectional and catechetical. The whole class having listened in one part of the day to the prelection of the professor, is broken into sections, each of which, as Dr. Salmon observes, "is under the charge of one of the professor's assistants, who gives his class some portion of a text book to prepare for examination on each lecture day, explains it to them, and catechises them in it. In this way the students read carefully some standard works of English divinity." Each year closes with a general examination, when the students are classed according to their answering. This curriculum is accompanied by the usual stimulus of prizes and honours.

The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge also took steps in order to meet in some degree the wants of the Church. Before 1870, the examination in divinity in Oxford, apart from theological and Hebrew scholarships, was included in the final examination for the B.A. degree. The subjects for this examination, which continues still under the name of "the Divinity School," are Old and New Testament History, the Gospels and Acts in Greek, and the Thirty-nine Articles to be known by heart with the Scripture proofs. In 1870, the Theological honour school was opened. The divinity professors and examiners, appointed as a board of studies, according to the statute of May, 1869, have fixed a certain course to be pursued by those who propose to take their degree in Theology. I have

before me the paper prepared in 1873. The variations before and since are few and unimportant.

There are six subjects with books :—

I. Biblia Sacra, including certain portions of the Bible.

II. Theologia Dogmatica, including Pearson on the Creed and other works, patristic and modern.

III. Historia Ecclesiastica, including several historical works.

IV. Apologetica, including Butler's Analogy, with other works.

V. Liturgica, including the Book of Common Prayer and other works.

VI. Critica Sacra, including Westcott on the Canon and other works.

Four complete subjects out of the six, with the Hebrew, are generally expected for a first class.

This school is exclusively an Honour School, and the B.A. degree may be obtained through it as through any of the other final honour schools. But it is open to those who do not wish to pursue this honorary course, as a qualification for the Ministry, to attend two courses of Theological Lectures; the one of the Regius Professor, consisting of twelve lectures, and the other of some other Divinity Professor, consisting of eighteen lectures.

The Bishops generally require Candidates for Ordination from Oxford to produce certificates accordingly.

Similar measures have been taken in the University of Cambridge.

It is at once apparent that the Honorary Theological Schools offer a very effective course of studies. But there is one point of great importance to which we cannot close our eyes, and it is this, that *we have no effective guarantee that the Professors and Examiners are sound in the faith of the Church of England.*

A Practical Proposal.

III. I am glad to find that at last a step is about to be taken in the right direction, and that measures are already being adopted to establish Theological Halls in Oxford and Cambridge. "The proposal has reference to University men only," and the object is not to meet the case of those who do not contemplate a University course. The explanatory Circular, bearing the names of Charles Perry (Bishop), Chairman, John Deacon, Treasurer, and E. H. Carr, sets forth that "a much more thorough preparation is needed and is attainable by Candidates for Holy Orders than is now com-

monly received. The present times specially require men carefully trained in a knowledge of Holy Scripture, of the position and teaching of the Church of England as fixed at the Reformation, of Ecclesiastical History as illustrating many points of doctrine, worship and practice, and of Philosophy as bearing upon Christianity." This document speaks with a caution which is commendable under the circumstances, but its meaning is plain: and it is this—that the Church of England needs a Ministry which will be able, under the blessing of God, to maintain on the one hand the principles of the Reformation against the wily advocates of Rome, and on the other the truths of our holy religion against a subtle Rationalism. The same circular states that the Theological Halls are intended to furnish to graduates "the training required to make them mighty in the Scriptures, able in those days of doubt and unsettlement to render to every man a reason for the hope that is in them, qualified to speak with authority upon the controversies of the past and present, and prepared to maintain the pure doctrines of the Reformed Church of England in all their simplicity and fulness."

The Statement of the proposed Theological Institution at Oxford explains that the following subjects will be specially prominent:—

Biblical Theology based on a study of the original Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.
Christian Evidences in their various branches.
Reading, lecturing, and preaching.
Parochial organization and Educational work.
Home and foreign Missionary work.
Religious tenets of Churches and Sects.

Thus it is proposed not only to give instruction in Theology as a science, but to cultivate a knowledge of practical matters which are essential to a successful Ministry, and also to promote spiritual personal edification.

The "Statement" refers with marked approval to the new arrangement by which Theology has been adopted as one of the specific subjects eligible for a degree. A student having passed about a third of his time in the general studies of the University, may give his entire attention to Theology, and graduate in it. It appears, however, that comparatively few men avail themselves of this privilege. The "Statement" remarks that even those who take honours in the Theological School are by no means fully equipped for the Ministry.

They have much more to learn, and therefore it is proposed "to provide a third link between the Universities and the Ministry by the establishment of Institutions at Oxford and Cambridge where men who have taken their degrees may have special preparation for holy orders without being in danger of that professional exclusiveness which is supposed (justly or unjustly) to be attached to the ordinary Theological College."

These proposed Institutions are intended primarily for the benefit of Graduates of the University. An economical place of residence will be provided for them. It is also proposed that some courses of lectures should be open to candidates for honours in the Theological School. It is also hoped that many of the Undergraduates will avail themselves of the lectures of the Halls.

The Hall at Oxford is to bear the honoured name of Wycliffe, and there is reason to believe that it will be open for the delivery of lectures and the reception of resident Graduates in January, 1878.

A site has been purchased for the new Hall in Cambridge, and temporary arrangements are being made for the delivery of lectures.

I think we must all feel that this is an eminently useful and practical proposal. I am not in communication with its promoters, either directly or indirectly, and therefore what I have said cannot compromise them. Let us hope that the new Halls will supply that sound Protestant Church of England teaching of our Clergy which has been so long needed. Our young men should be ready to give a reason of the hope that is in them both to the unbeliever and Romanist. The solemn question is put at ordination—"Will you be ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's word?" but it is a mere mockery to require them to do this, if their theological education be not sufficient. Our Clergy should be qualified to "contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the Saints."

I trust that the proposal which is now before us will meet with the response which it deserves, and be attended by the Divine blessing in abundant results.

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8th Thousand.]

No. LXVI.]

THE

GOWN IN THE PULPIT.

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM FLEMING, LL.B.,

INCUMBENT OF CHRIST CHURCH, CHISLEHURST.

Price Twopence.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

"THE PROTESTANT STANDARDS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND," a Sermon preached at Christ Church, Chislehurst. Hodder and Stoughton, 24, Paternoster Row. Price Three pence. By post 3½*d*.

"The subject is treated clearly, and with point; is suggestive of further inquiry: and will repay perusal."—*Association Intelligencer*, Dec. 1877.

THE GOWN IN THE PULPIT.

By the Rev. William Fleming, LL.B. (Cantab.),

Incumbent of Christ Church, Chislehurst.

I. Its Canonical Authority.

Bare assertion, when unsupported by proof, is worse than useless, since it must eventually recoil upon those who indulge in it. Statements, which have no foundation in fact, are often for a time received, without investigation, because of the very audacity with which they are advanced. Amongst these, the Clergy who still retain the Gown in the Pulpit, have not escaped the charge of "lawbreaking," and the now celebrated "Ridsdale Judgment" is said to have ratified this accusation. It has been assumed by many that the Court, by its ruling in this case, has removed the Academical Gown from the pulpit, consequently, that those who continue its use, are failing in obedience, and escaping by evasion the force of this Judgment. This is a grave indictment; too serious to be allowed to go by default, and it is consequently tested in the following paper.

Till within the last forty years the Gown, as a matter of fact, has been the usual, if not the universal, costume of the preacher in the Church of England; and, as such, has been sanctioned by and founded upon *canonical authority*. A charge of lawlessness can only be decided by appeal to Ecclesiastical law. Let us turn to the Canons, take them in order, and carefully consider their statements on this subject.

By the 25th Canon it is enacted that the capitular clergy in Cathedrals, and the master and heads of Colleges in their chapels, shall wear surplices when preaching. Now if the surplice was the authorised dress of the preacher, why a separate Canon to provide for two special cases? Does not this exception prove the rule? If our two Brigades of Rifles are distinguished by wearing green, it is conclusive evidence that the uniform of the general army must be some other colour. The mere existence of this Canon, therefore, tells its own tale. But what has been its working? Whenever a parochial clergyman preaches in a Cathedral, he wears his gown to distinguish him from the capitular staff; and, whilst the Canon is strictly observed in the College chapels of Oxford and Cambridge, the select preacher stands before the Vice-Chancellor in the University pulpit in his black gown. These facts are undeniable. The clergy of our Cathedrals and Universities have ever been pre-eminent for their

knowledge and observance of Ecclesiastical law. Is it likely that they would tolerate an irregular and uncanonical custom ?

From Archdeacon Harrison's "Historical Inquiry into the Rubrics" (Rivington, 1845), we quote the following :—

"In such cases it is, I think, quite certain from the evidence of traditionary "custom in all Cathedrals, that the sermon would be preached not in the Surplice, "but always in the Gown. Thus it was not the usage of the Cathedral, as the "pattern of correct practice, that ruled the point, but rather the *status* of the "individual in regard to the Cathedral. Not only would it not be required that "the preacher in the Cathedral, not being a member of the Cathedral body, "should wear the surplice,—which would surely be the case, if it rested on con-"siderations of Ecclesiastical propriety,—it would not even be *permitted* him to "wear in preaching, this distinctive badge of a member of the Cathedral founda-"tion. There is not, I believe, a single Cathedral in England or Ireland, in "which the preacher, not being a member of the Cathedral body, would be allowed "to preach in the surplice, even though it were the sermon in the morning, or "Communion Service. . . . But on the contrary, we find the universal custom to be "as stated ; and this even on the most formal and solemn occasions. In Canterbury Cathedral, the Archbishop at his Visitation visits, on three successive days, the "Cathedral body and four deaneries of the diocese, two on each day. At the "Visitation of the Cathedral Establishment, one of the Canons always preaches "and consequently in his surplice ; at the other two Visitations in the Cathedral, "the preacher being one of the parochial Clergy of the diocese, preaches in the "Gown, unless he chance to be also a member of the foundation. Thus at the "Visitation in 1844, the Sermon on the first day of the Visitation was preached "in the surplice, by one of the Canons ; on the second day, in the gown by one "of the clergy of the city ; on the third day in the surplice, the preacher (an "incumbent of a Country parish) happening to be also one of the Six Preachers "in the Cathedral. In St. Paul's Cathedral, "the Sunday Morning turns, the "representatives of the Cross Sermons, are assigned to whatever persons the Bishop "of London may think proper to select." On these occasions the same rule pre-"vails. So also in regard to Sermons at Visitations in the Cathedral, at the Fes-"tival of the Sons of the Clergy, &c. In the Cathedral of Christ Church, Oxford, "the Sermon at Ordinations is preached in the surplice, only when it is preached "by one of the Students of the Cathedral Church ('perpetui alumni hujus "Cathedralis Ecclesiæ') ; when preached by a member of any other College, it is "preached in the gown. And so in other Cathedrals." (Page 152).

Having thus examined the force of Canon 25, as insisting on the use of the Gown in Cathedral pulpits, and so establishing it as the dress of the parochial preacher, we may pass to the consideration of Canon 58. Here it is clearly defined *when* the surplice is to be worn, and consequently by inference when it is to be laid aside.

Canon LVIII.—*Ministers reading Divine Service, and administering the Sacraments, to wear Surplices, and Graduates therewithal Hoods.*

"Every Minister saying the public Prayers, or ministering the Sacraments, or "other Rites of the Church, shall wear a decent and comely Surplice with sleeves, "to be provided at the charge of the parish," &c.

Here preaching, so deliberately named in the 25th canon, is as deliberately omitted, for by the heading, the rule applies not to "Preachers," but "Ministers." The Surplice is to be worn "when saying the public prayers, or ministering the sacraments or other rites of the Church—*i. e.* at Baptisms, Weddings, Funerals, &c., for each of which there is a Liturgical Service. Now unless it can be proved that the sermon is a "rite" or an act of "ministering" (not in the popular, but in the *Canonical acceptation* of these terms) it cannot possibly be included under the order for the Surplice in this Canon.

"Ministering" Distinct from "Preaching."

But is preaching a "Rite of the Church?" The application of the 58th Canon obviously turns on the reply. Are the terms "Ministering" and "Preaching" synonymous? If so, then must the Surplice be worn in the Pulpit. If not, then this Canon does not apply. This necessarily raises an enquiry of considerable importance, upon which we now enter.

It is highly satisfactory, and indeed very remarkable, that the answer to this question is actually embodied in the law itself. The clergyman desiring to render due obedience to his church, "as by law established," must rejoice in a solution which comes to him, not only from the Canons of that Church, but also from the Statutes of the Realm; and all doubts on this branch of our subject will immediately disappear, when these enactments have been examined, apart from prejudice.

Continuing, then, our review of the Canons, it will there be found that so far from the term "ministering" being left to private interpretation, it is distinctly disconnected from "preaching" in the four following instances: viz:—Generally. In Preaching. In Ministering. In Visiting.

First, Generally, it will be seen by a cursory inspection of their headings and contents, that the Canons from 43 to 56 regulate the duties of "Preachers," whilst those from 57 to 76 relate to "Ministers." Thus no fewer than thirty-four Canons are first constructed, and then divided into two groups, to mark the distinction between ministering and preaching.

Secondly, as regards Preaching.—This office is especially dealt with as follows:—

Canon XLV.—*Beneficed Preachers, being resident upon their Livings to preach every Sunday.*

"Every beneficed man, *allowed to be a Preacher*, and residing on his Benefice "having no lawful impediment, shall, in his own Cure, or in some other church or "chapel, where he may conveniently, near adjoining *(where no Preacher is)* preach "one Sermon every Sunday of the year; wherein he shall soberly and sincerely "divide the word of truth, to the glory of God, and to the best edification of the "people."

Canon XLVI.—*Beneficed men, not Preachers, to procure Monthly Sermons.*

"Every beneficed man, *not allowed to be a Preacher*, shall procure Sermons to "be preached in his Cure once in every month at the least, by Preachers lawfully "licensed, if his living, in the judgment of his Ordinary, will be able to bear it," &c.

Canon XLVII.—*Absence of beneficed men to be supplied by curates that are allowed Preachers.*

"Every beneficed man, licensed by the laws of this realm, upon urgent occasions "of other service, not to reside upon his benefice, shall cause his cure to be supplied "by a Curate, that is *a sufficient and licensed Preacher*, if the worth of the Benefice "will bear it. But whosoever hath two Benefices *shall maintain a Preacher* "licensed in the Benefice where he doth not reside, except he preach himself at "both of them usually."

Canon XLIX.—*Ministers, not allowed Preachers, may not expound,*

"No person whatsoever, not examined and approved by the Bishop of the "diocese, or *not licensed, as is aforesaid for a sufficient and convenient Preacher* "shall take upon him to expound *in his own cure or elsewhere*, any Scripture or "matter of doctrine." &c.

It is unnecessary to point out the conspicuous distinction between the ministering of "Beneficed men not Preachers," and "Preachers lawfully licensed" upon which these four canons are founded. By ordination a clergyman is not merely admitted but positively *required* to minister every office and rite of the Church in his cure; and if preaching therefore were included as a rite, it would, as a matter of course, become one of his ordinary duties. Whereas by these Canons he is required, if beneficed, to provide, in addition to his ordinary ministrations, weekly or monthly sermons; if absent, he is to maintain a Preacher duly licensed; nay, he may even be individually ministering every "rite" of the Church, within his benefice, and yet be restricted from "expounding any Scripture within his own cure." The truth is, that Ministering, imposed by ordination includes all "rites of the Church," and can only be revoked by the order of an Ecclesiastical Court; whereas Preaching, sanctioned by license, is a special function in itself, which may be suspended on the moment at the will of a Bishop.

Thirdly, as regards Ministering.—The same distinction again occurs when providing for Divine Service and the Administration of the Sacraments.

Canon LVI.—*Preachers and Lecturers to read Divine Service and administer the Sacraments twice a year at least.*

"Every minister, being possessed of a Benefice, that hath cure and charge of "souls, although he chiefly attend to preaching, and hath a curate under him to "execute the other duties which are to be performed for him in the Church, and "likewise every other stipendiary Preacher that readeth any lecture, or catechizeth,

"or preacheth in any church or chapel, shall twice at the least every year read "himself the Divine Service upon two several Sundays publicly . . . . and shall "likewise as often in every year administer the Sacraments," &c.

Canon LVII.—*The Sacraments not to be refused at the hands of Unpreaching Ministers.*

"Whereas divers persons, seduced by false teachers, do refuse to have their "children baptized by a *Minister that is no Preacher*, and to receive the Holy "Communion at his hands in the same respect, as though the virtue of those "Sacraments did depend upon his ability to preach . . . both the said Sacraments "being equally effectual, whether they be ministered by *a Minister that is no "Preacher*, or *by one that is a Preacher*," &c.

The title "*Unpreaching Ministers*," thus officially used, is in itself a sufficient and decisive answer to our enquiry, and proves that ministering and preaching are not identical. But what is the purport of these two Canons? In modern times all clergymen are licensed to preach, but formerly, though all Preachers were Ministers, all Ministers were not Preachers. Hence the law requiring the Preacher to recognize his office in ministering, at least twice in every year; whilst, in the next Canon, the Church at large is instructed respecting the validity of the Sacraments, whether administered by a Preaching or an "Unpreaching Minister."

Lastly, as regards Visiting.—We have yet one more Canon confirming in an interesting, but most important way, the difference between "praying clergy" and "preaching clergy." The service for the Visitation of the Sick, with its form of Absolution, is perplexing many minds at the present time. Ritualists affect to derive from it their Auricular Confession and Sacerdotal Absolution. Now this Service has become *practically obsolete*, when we keep in mind the distinction laid down in the above named Canons. Its use is thus regulated—

Canon LXVII. *Ministers to Visit the Sick.*

"When any person is dangerously sick in any parish, the Minister or Curate, "having knowledge thereof, shall resort unto him or her, (if the disease be not "known, or probably suspected to be infectious,) to instruct and comfort them in "their distress, *according to the order of the Communion Book, if he be no Preacher; "or if he be a Preacher, then as he shall think most needful and convenient.* &c."

No Clergyman therefore is now bound, nor even required to use this Service. It was compiled for "Ministers" who were no Preachers. The clergy, at present, are universally licensed to preach, and consequently by this Canon relieved from the use of the Service. For our present argument, it would be hardly possible to define more clearly the difference between Ministering and Preaching, and that too in the solemn duty to which the Canon refers.

It has thus been shown, in the four instances named, that this distinction was fraught with important consequences. Instead of its being a fallacy, fancifully drawn to support a theory in favour of the gown, it proves to be a well defined and recognized principle,

upon which the Canons were originally constructed. Our Ecclesiastical Law treats Preaching throughout as totally separated from the Rites and Ministrations of the Church, and it is perfectly evident therefore that the Sermon is entirely excluded from the provisions of Canon 58, so far as it bears on the use of the Surplice.

But if the distinction between "Ministering" and "Preaching," thus sharply defined throughout our Canon Law, has further received the endorsement of our Statute Law, and that too at a date so recent as 3rd July, 1860, then have we irresistibly proved that the solution we seek is furnished by the law itself.

The 23rd and 24th of Vic., chap. xxxii, is "An Act to abolish the "Jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts in Ireland in cases of "Defamation, and in England and Ireland in certain cases of "Brawling." The framer of this bill was well acquainted with the distinction which has been pointed out in the Canons cited above. Not only is it found in the body of the bill, but at sittings in Banco, it has received the weighty interpretation of our Judges. The 2nd Section of the Act runs thus:—

"Any person who shall be guilty of riotous, violent, or indecent behaviour, in "England or Ireland in any Cathedral Church, Parish or District Church . . . "or who shall molest, let, disturb, vex, or trouble, or by any other unlawful "means disquiet, or misuse, any *Preacher duly authorised to preach therein, or* "*any Clergyman in Holy Orders ministering or celebrating any Sacrament or* "*any Divine Service, Rite, or office,* . . . shall, on conviction thereof, &c., &c."

In the "Times" of 8th June, 1872, a report will be found of the case of "Cope *v.* Barber," as tried in the Court of Common Pleas. When delivering Judgment, Mr. Justice Willes first quoted at length the above Section—and then continued, "*The Section drew a distinction* between a Preacher and a Clergyman in Holy Orders celebrating any Sacrament, Divine Service, Rite, or office required to be performed by a Clergyman in Holy Orders," &c.

It is needless to add more. Still if further evidence be sought, passages will be found in the Injunctions of 1559, illustrating the relation in which Preachers then stood to the parochial Ministers (*Harrison's Rubrics*); and the same distinction may be traced throughout the Visitation Articles, from which the following are selected as samples. (*Report of Ritual Commission—Reprint from Bodleian Library.*)

1638. Thornburgh, Archdeacon of Worcester.

14. "If your minister bee not a preacher allowed, doth he procure monthly "sermons? And when there is no sermon, doth he read an homily—doth he "take upon him to expound any text of Scripture?"

1662. Layfield, Archdeacon of Essex:—

3. "Whether doth your minister *duly observe all the orders, rites,* and cere-"monies prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, as well in reading public "prayers, the Letanie, as also in administering the Sacraments in such manner "and forme as by the Booke of Common Prayer by law now established is enjoyned?"

Observe, Layfield first asks, "Are all rites duly observed"—and then, to show that preaching is not included amongst them, the following separate question is framed:—

10. "Whether is your minister a preacher allowed? If so, then by whom? "If no, whether he doth procure sermons to be preached among you once in every "month, or at least, by such as are lawfully licensed, or doth contribute towards "a licensed preacher, if his living will beare it?"

It is manifest that, by question 3, a Clergyman might duly observe all rites, and yet, by question 10, have to "procure Sermons," if he be not a licensed Preacher himself.

1662. Cosin, Bishop of Durham:—

13. "Is there any lecture preached in your parish? Is he who preacheth it "(one or more) allowed so to do by the Bishop? Doth he *before his lecture read* "the public service of the Church appointed for that day by the Book of Common "Prayer? At the *reading thereof* doth he wear a *surplice? When he lectureth* "*doth he use the ecclesiastical habit appointed for all ministers of the Church?*"

But what is this ecclesiastical habit which Bishop Cosin requires of lecturers? By the 74th Canon it is "appointed for all ministers of the Church" that they "shall usually wear gowns, as is usual in the Universities." When, therefore, not wearing the surplice, as especially prescribed by the 58th Canon, then, on the authority of this 74th Canon, they appear in gown at Court, at Visitations, or in the Pulpit.

The realization of this ancient distinction between two classes of clergy will show the significance of the garb prescribed for the respective offices. *The Surplice for Ministering; the Academical Gown for Preaching.* The *morâle* of the change from gown to surplice would be strictly *retrogressive*—i.e. the Preacher going back to his function solely of Minister; whereas, by the addition of the gown to the surplice, the minister is marked as a Preacher, an office to which he has been advanced by the licence of his Bishop.

Dr. Waldegrave, Bishop of Carlisle, in "A Guide to the Parish Church," (p. 74), clearly points out this principle in the following words:—

"The gown used by the clergy, and the hood which is generally worn over the "surplice, are not ecclesiastical garments, but marks of a University degree. "Now, it is highly desirable that our clergy throughout England should be men of "good education as well as piety, and it is well, therefore, that our clergy should "carry with then the certificate, as it were, of having received a good and learned "education. The University gown and the University hood are intended to be "this certificate; and when a clergyman appears in church with his University "dress upon him, he bears with him testimony to the fact that he has not under-"taken to teach others without having been at much labour and charge to be "taught himself. The clergyman in a snrplice does, in fact, represent the ordained "minister of Christ's Church; the clergyman in his gown the man of education "and learning."

The *Quarterly Review* of May 1843 contains an able article on this subject, from which the following is taken—

"A larger consideration of the *historicum* as well as of the *rationale* of the case "will save the Church of England from the schism of black gowns and white "gowns! . . . . We need not go beyond the broad fact, that ever since the "Church of England has been a Reformed Church, there is every reason to believe "her ministers have performed her sacred offices in a surplice, and her preachers "have (with exceptions that only prove the general rule) preached in black gowns. " . . . . All this is true, but the real cause lies a little deeper:—the minis- "tering the divine offices is of a *sacred* character, and the performance thereof is "reverentially marked by a peculiar vestment, while preaching is a mere *personal* "act of the individual, from which the peculiar sanction of the garb appropriated "to divine offices was carefully and reasonably withheld—that there should be a "visible distinction between the worship of God and the teaching of man."

Bishops have universally preached in the gown previous to their consecration, and Dr. McNeile, Ex-Dean of Ripon, offered every facility to test the question, if duly prosecuted for the practice.

Those who argue for the surplice in the pulpit on the plea that the sermon is part of the Communion Service can hardly be serious. In what sense can the casual words of a preacher be considered as incorporated with a stereotyped Liturgy? How could a Bishop ordain a minister to the administration of the sacrament, and then, by withholding his license, inhibit the use of a portion of its service? By what authority does a minister mutilate that service every time he preaches apart from it? The Rubric merely directs when the sermon is to be preached, and creates the interval in the service for that purpose. But no single Rubric can set aside the force of the existing canons, nor be so misconstrued as to convert preaching into ministering.

Such then is the canonical authority for a time-honoured custom, which can only be altered by new enactments in our Ecclesiastical law.

Principles laid down in recent Judgments decisive as to the Legality of the Gown.

We now turn to the "Ridsdale Judgment."

Be it remembered that a Court of Justice possesses no legislative authority. It can only interpret, but not alter the law; and its ruling is restricted to the particular point submitted for its immediate consideration. If therefore this Judgment has condemned the gown, as an Ecclesiastical vestment, then are we met with the astounding fact, that for more than three hundred years, the English Church has misinterpreted the law by which she is governed. But has the "Ridsdale Judgment" touched this question of the Gown in the Pulpit? Let us examine its words.

On page 1 (Church Association printed copy) their Lordships say:—

"The four matters as to which the Appeal complains of the Judgment are "these:—

1. "The wearing during the service of the Holy Communion of vestments "known as an alb and a chasuble."

This first point of appeal, then, relates to vestments worn during the "Holy Communion," *not* during preaching; to the "alb and chasuble," *not* the Academical Gown.

At page 3 the Judgment continues:—

"Their Lordships will now proceed to consider the first charge against the "appellant, namely, that of wearing an alb and chasuble. They will, however, "premise that they do not propose to express any opinion upon the vestures proper "to be worn by Bishops, as to which separate considerations may arise; and in "referring to the dress of the parochial clergy, they will, for greater convenience, "use the term 'vestments' for the purpose of denoting the alb and chasuble or "cope, as distinguished from the surplice."

Here, at the outset, they distinctly define the term "Vestments." Throughout their Judgment it denotes "alb, chasuble, or cope." The gown is obviously excluded.

Moreover, if "separate considerations may arise" respecting the vestures of Bishops, why not the same principle with respect to Preachers? This Appeal applies to Ministers at the Holy Communion.

But on page 23 of the Judgment, we find a statement which is positively conclusive, when taken in connection with the two passages above quoted:—

"Judges weigh their words with reference to the questions which they have to "consider, and not with reference to questions which are not before them."

Now, by their own definition, their Lordships were considering alb, chasuble, or cope *only*. The Academical Gown was not "before them," nor is it once named in thirty-three pages of closely-printed matter. If, during the trial, Counsel had advanced arguments relative to the gown, they must have been stopped, since the Court was not dealing with that subject. The Judges themselves declare they have weighed their words without reference to the preacher's dress. How can it be assumed that their Judgment has suppressed what was never before them? The point at issue was the introduction of unauthorised vestments, this being the *very opposite* to the expulsion of an authorised one!

If however the Court, by its own shewing, never touched upon the Preacher's garb, either as collateral to the Vestments under consideration, nor yet as a question *per se*, we have at page 18, a principle asserted which is of the very first importance; and one which bears with irrefutable force upon the *continuance* of the Gown in the Pulpit.

The Judges, still speaking about Vestments, say:—

"What, then, in a question of this nature, is the weight in law of such con-"temporaneous and continual usage? Their Lordships may take the answer to "this question from the words, either of Lord Campbell, in Gorham *v.* Bishop of "Exeter; or of Chief Baron Pollock, in Pochin *v.* Duncombe; or of Dr. Lush-"ington in Westerton *v.* Liddell.

"Lord Campbell, referring to a Statute of 25 Henry VIII., cap. 19, said:—
"Were the language of the Statute obscure, instead of being clear, we should not
"be justified in differing from the construction put upon it by contemporaneous
"and long-continued usage. There would be no safety for property or liberty, if
"it could be successfully contended that all lawyers and statesmen have been mis-
"taken for centuries as to the true meaning of an old Act of Parliament.

"Chief Baron Pollock, with reference to the maxim—'*Contemporanea expositio*
"*fortissima est in lege*,' said:—The rule amounts to no more than this, that if
"the act be susceptible of the interpretation which has thus been put upon it by
long usage, the Court will not disturb that construction.

"Dr. Lushington said:—Usage, for a long series of years, in ecclesiastical
"customs especially, is entitled to the greatest respect; it has every presumption
"in its favour; but it cannot contravene or prevail against positive law; though,
"where doubt exists, it might turn the balance."

The Judgment, endorsing these quotations, continues:—

"A Church Rubric, taking the form of directions to be acted on by large
"numbers of persons from week to week, and from day to day, is a subject above
"all others for exposition by contemporaneous and continual usage, and the
"principles laid down in the cases to which their Lordships have referred, forti-
"fied as they easily might be by many other authorities, seem to their Lordships
"to be decisive of the present question."

With great deliberation and emphasis, a principle is here laid down. Three eminent judges are first quoted. "Many other authorities might easily" be added. And then their Lordships judicially hold this principle "*to be decisive of the present question*," *i.e.*, Vestments. Their ruling is unmistakable. First, they establish the force and authority of "long continued usage" "in Ecclesiastical customs especially"; and then, they apply it to the question before them, and declare it to be "*decisive*" with respect to a Vestment. The Alb and Chasuble are condemned as novelties, but the *continuance* of the Surplice is confirmed by ancient and unbroken precedent.

Well then, if this principle be applied to the Surplice, most assuredly it is equally applicable to the Gown; and if it can be shown that "for a long series of years" the Academical Gown has been in use as the Preacher's dress, then, so far from suppressing, the Judgment actually *endorses and confirms its continuance*, as "entitled to the greatest respect" and "having every presumption in its favour." Nay, it is not too much to say, that even if the canonical authority, which we have advanced, were wanting, this portion of the Judgment, if the reasoning be worth anything, would *of itself establish the gown on the score of "usage."*

We proceed to prove the "long-continued usage" of the gown in preaching.

Commencing with the Reformation, it is admitted by all to have been the Preacher's dress in the reign of Edward VI.

In 1562 the Convocation, which drew our thirty-nine Articles in their present form, attended public service in St. Paul's; on the 13th

of January, the Archbishop of Canterbury came himself to the Cathedral, attended in state by the officers and ministers of his court, when the Rev. W. Day, of Eton, preached the sermon; and it stands on record "he *wore in the pulpit the gown* of the Bachelor of Divinity" (*habitu baccalaurei in theologia indutus*).

To the same Convocation a petition was presented from thirty-six members of the Lower House praying, amongst other things, that "the use of copes and surplices should be taken away, so that all ministers in their ministry use a grave, comely, and side garment *as commonly they do in preaching.*" This was the Academical Gown. The petitioners apparently desired its adoption (as now in the Church of Scotland), to the exclusion of the surplice, and it is worthy of notice that they draw a distinction between ministering and preaching.—*Harrison's Rubrics.*

In 1572 another Convocation was held which actually ordered the use of the surplice in all ministrations, and in preaching the Academical Gown. They prescribed thus:—

"'*Nullus nec Decanus, nec Archidiaconus nec Residentiarius, nec Præpositus*
"*nec Custos, nec Præfectus, alicujus collegii, aut Ecclesiæ Cathedralis, nec Præses*
"*nec Rector nec quisquam ex illo ordine quocunque nomine censeatur, utetur*
"*posthac amictu illo quem appellant Graium Amicium, aut aliâ ullâ veste simili*
"*superstitione contaminatâ. Sed in ecclesiis quisque suis utetur tantum lineâ*
"*illâ veste quæ adhuc Regio mandato Retinetur et scholastica epomide quæ suo*
"*cujusque scholastico gradui et loco conveniat. Inter concionandum utentur veste*
"*quam maxime modestâ et gravi quæ deceat, atque ornet ministrum Dei qualisque*
"*in libello admonitionum descripta est.*"—*Sparrow's Collections,* 1684, p. 238.*

This quotation appeared under the signature of "D.C.L." in the columns of the *Rock* (June 15th, 1877).

Such was the action of Convocation (which is perpetually appealed to by the Sacerdotalists as "the living voice of the Church!") in the reign of Elizabeth. If the reader will examine the first quarto edition of "The holi bible" *issued under authority* in 1569 (British Museum, 1105, f. 1), he will find an interesting frontispiece confirming the above. It represents Queen Elizabeth enthroned in State. "Justice" and "Mercie," on either side, are placing the

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* "No one, neither Dean, nor Archdeacon, nor Canon, nor Provost, nor Warden, "nor Principal of any College or Cathedral. nor President nor Rector, nor of the "same rank (dignity) by whatsoever name he may be called, *shall use henceforth* "that Garment called the Gray Amyss or any other Vestment contaminated with "similar superstition. But in every church each shall use *only that linen garment* "which as yet is *retained by Royal mandate*, and the scholastic hood which pertains "to each man's degree and University. Whilst preaching, they shall use a gar-'ment, *the most modest and grave* which may become and adorn the minister of "God, *such as has been described in the 'Book of Advertisements.'* "—*i.e.* the Academical Gown described thus:—"All Ecclesiastical persons shall wear long "Gowns of the fashion aforesaid, and Caps as before is described. And if their "ability will not suffer to buy them long Gowns of the form afore prescribed, "that then they shall wear their short Gowns, agreeable to the form before ex-"pressed."—*Advertisements,* 1564-6.

crown upon her head, whilst "Fortitude" and "Prudence" uphold her throne. Underneath is a minister in a pulpit, with hour glass, preaching to a congregation sitting. On his right sits a senator, in his gown and book in hand (Secretary Cecil). *The minister is shown in the preacher's gown.* Now this "bible" was "Imprinted in London in powles churchyarde by Richardi Jugge, Printer to the Queenes Maiestie (cum privilegio Regiæ Maiestatis);" and most assuredly a false and inaccurate representation would not have been sanctioned on the title page of an authorised copy.

Thus much for "usage" in the sixteenth century.

Passing to the seventeenth century, we have the well-known Injunctions of Laud issued in 1633 and endorsed by Royal authority. They required "grave and orthodox divines that they ever preach in such seemly habits *as belong to their degrees*" (clearly the Academical Gown, since the surplice has no connection with a degree) "and not in cloaks." (*Cardwell's Annals*, vol. ii. p. 178) Laud enforced these Injunctions through the Visitation Articles of the Bishops, from which the following extracts, showing conclusively the custom of the day, are taken. The questions throughout are framed upon the Canonical distinction between ministering and preaching.

1633. Lindsell, Bishop of Peterborough:—

Art. 41. "Whether doth your lecturer reade Divine Service according to the "Liturgie printed by authority, in his surplice and hood, *before his lecture*, accord- "ing to His Majesty's late direction?"

43. "Whether have you any Lecture of Combination in your parish?' (*i.e.*, a body of clergymen delivering sermons, as now usual in courses of Lent or Advent lectures.)

"If so, whether is it read by a company of grave and orthodox divines near "adjoining, and in the same diocese, and whether do they *preach in gowns*, and not "in cloaks, *according to His Majesty's late order?*"

1635. Archbishop Laud, for Norwich:—

2. "Whether have you any lecturer in your parish who hath preached in this "cloake, and *not in his gowne?*"

1635. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln:—

2. "Whether have you any lecturer in your parish who had preached in his "cloak, *and not in his gown?*"

1636. Wren, Bishop of Norwich:—

2. "Is your minister a licensed preacher, yea or na? And if he be licensed, "then by whom? Doth he preach usually in his owne cure, or in some other church "or chappell neere adjoining, where there is no preacher, once every Sunday? "And how often hath he been negligent in so doing? Doth he also preach "standing, and *in his cassock and gown?*"

45. "Doth the lecturer, whosoer he bee, reade the Divine Service according to "the Liturgie printed by authority in surplice and hood, *before every lecture?*"

47. "Have you any Lecture of Combination set up in your parish? And if so, "is it read by a company of grave and orthodox divines neere adjoining, and in "the same diocese? And doth *every one of them preach in a gowne*, and not in "a cloake? And when, and by whom, were they appointed, and what be their "names?"

1638. Duppa, Bishop of Chichester:—

8. "Is Divine Service orderly performed in your church by your minister or "curate upon appointed times, as the book of Common Prayer presenteth, without "any kind of alteration, addition, or omission? Particularly doth he read the "Litany on Wednesdayes and Fridayes?"

10. "Doth he in celebration of Divine Service use such vestments as are "enjoined by authority—doth he constantly in performing that duty weare a "surplice, and an hood (if he be a graduate) suitable to his degree?"

12. "Doth he preach in such a solemne habit as becomes him, in *a long gowne* "*and cassock*, not in a riding or ambulatory cloake?"

1640. Juxon, Bishop of London:—

8. "Doe your lecturer or lecturers *preach in their gownes*, and not in their "cloakes, *according to his Majesty's instructions, August*, 1629?"

1640. Bostock, Archdeacon of Suffolk:—

Chap. v. 2. Item. "Whether is your minister a licensed preacher, yea or no? "And if he be licensed, then by whom? . . . Doth he alwaies *preach standing* "*and in his cassocke and gowne*, not in a cloake?"

1662. Pory, Archdeacon of Middlesex:—

8. "Do your lecturer or lecturers *preach in their gowns*, and not in their "cloaks, *according to his Majesty's instructions*, 1629?"

Observe the value of his question. The "instructions of 1629" are held to be in force in "1662." Our Prayer Book, in its present form, came out in this latter year. Clearly, therefore, it did not override the instructions of the earlier date.

1670. Hammond, Archdeacon of Huntingdon:—

4. "Doth he (parson, vicar, or curate) at reading, or celebrating any divine "office in your church or chappell, constantly wear the surplice, together with "such other scholastical habit as is suitable to his degree? *And in preaching* "*doth he wear a gown?*"

1671. Fuller, Bishop of Lincoln:—

10. "Doth your minister at the reading or celebrating any divine office in your "church or chappell wear the surplice, together with such other scholastical habit "as is suitable to his degree; *and in preaching doth he wear a gown?*"*

With respect to the Injunctions issued for the use of the Gown in preaching, and the above Visitation quotations enforcing its use,

* Why have Bishops in the nineteenth century discontinued these Visitation queries? And on what authority have some recommended the Surplice instead?

there is this most important consideration, one too which ought to have great weight with High Churchmen. Not only is the garb enforced by Laud, the head of the High Church party of his day, but to guard against subsequent whim and caprice on the part of individual Bishops, the Convocation of 1640 framed a Book of Visitation Articles to be always used. Though the Acts of *this* Convocation were not validated by Parliamentary sanction, they are valuable as showing the mind and feeling of the Church at this period, as well as Laud's High Church influence. The Convocation of 1662, however, after issuing our present Prayer Book, took up this very question of a legal book of Visitation Articles. They had before them the book of 1640, which they adopted with slight alterations.

Now *both these books* of Visitation Articles, sanctioned by Convocation, and in this respect as valid as our Prayer Book itself, *prescribe the use of the Gown for preachers.* The enquiries given above (*Juxon*, 1640; and *Pory*, 1662) are taken from these authorized sources. Hence it has been shown that the Gown in the pulpit has *the sanction of three Convocations at least.* Can this be said of any other special matter which has engaged the attention of Churchmen?

It may further be observed that the Oxford Statutes, revised by Laud in 1636, required preachers to go to church "in the gown belonging to their degree and *wear the same while they delivered their sermons;*" and when Wren, Bishop of Ely, was impeached in 1641, "for being popishly and superstitiously affected," the twelfth article read against him ran thus:—"He, the more to alienate the people from hearing sermons, in the said year 1636, commanded and enjoined all ministers to preach constantly in their hood and *surplice, a thing not used before in that diocess,* and much offensive to the people as a scandalous innovation."—*Cobbett's State Trials,* vol. iv. p. 32.

Even Pepys in his Diary tells how the Surplice was discarded in preaching.

"Oct. 26, 1662—To church and there saw the first time Mr. Mills in a Surplice: "but it seemed absurd for him to pull it over his ears, in the reading pew, after he "had done, before all the people, to go up to the pulpit *to preach without it.*"—*Memoirs,* Vol. 1, p. 172.

These quotations fully establish "usage" during the Stuart dynasty, and are also confirmed by the published prints of the period. Two ecclesiastical authorities will suffice to illustrate, one, the earlier, and the other, the later half of the century. In the folio edition of Boys, Dean of Canterbury, in 1629, there is a drawing of a preacher in the pulpit in his gown; and in 1686, Addison, Dean of Lichfield, published his "Introduction to the Sacrament," which contains an important plate. The page is divided in the middle. The upper half shows a minister in gown preaching to people in the pews. The lower drawing has two ministers, each in surplice, administering the Sacrament to communicants kneeling at the rail. Corresponding exactly with the modern practice in our

Protestant churches of resuming the surplice after sermon.—*Brit Museum.*

It is unnecessary to pursue the enquiry through the eighteenth century, since the Preacher of the Hanoverian period is invariably associated with the gown. "Sparrow's Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer, 1704," a work which in sentiment, style, and tone, is a recognised High Church Standard, has two curious pictorial illustrations. One, facing the title-page, represents a congregation kneeling about their minister in the body of the church, saying the Litany. The other is a representation, at the top of the title-page, of a congregation listening to the sermon. *The minister, in the pulpit, is in a black gown, with bands,* and has his book on a cushion before him. Hogarth's historical engravings repeatedly show the same costume. In "A Sleepy Congregation," engraved from the original painting in 1736, the divine is represented *in the pulpit with black gown, and bands,* whilst the same again appears in "The Industrious Apprentice performing the duty of a Christian," which plate was published in 1747. Archdeacon Sharp speaks (in 1745) of the surplice in the pulpit as alone to be met with in the diocese of Durham.—See *Harrison's Rubrics.*

Coming to the present century, the late Rev. Joseph Fenn, of Blackheath, writing to the *Record* on 25th June, 1877 (under signature "Senex"), states that in 1816 he visited as deputation for the Church Missionary Society numerous churches in Norfolk, Suffolk, Bristol, Plymouth, Falmouth, and Cornwall. Eleven years later he passed through the northern, midland, and western districts, and, without exception, he found the gown universally worn in the pulpit; and this testimony certainly covers a wide area of the kingdom.

The present Bishop of Worcester, when Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, was esteemed a high authority on university and ecclesiastical law. In a published letter (March 13th, 1871) his Lordship writes respecting the Purchas Judgment: "It is clear to me that the recent Judgment of the Court of Privy Council has not in any way affected the question of the use of the Academical Gown in preaching." It would now be interesting to ask the Bishop, "Has not the Ridsdale Judgment finally established its use on the principle of 'long-continued usage?'" One broad fact, extending at the present time throughout England, is in itself decisive of the question of legality. It is this—that the Sheriff's chaplains *always preach in gowns before the Judges of Assize;* our highest Legal Authorities thus concurring with our Cathedrals and Universities on the propriety of this canonical practice. And, if it be true, that Victoria, our most gracious Queen, likewise requires her chaplains to preach before her in the gown—then, the "grave and orthodox divine" who still "preacheth standing, and in his cassock and gown," so far from being guilty of evasion, may rather appropriate a motto found in another illustration of the Elizabethan Bible, referred to above:—

"Lobe keppth the Lawe, obeyeth the kinge, and is good to the common welthe."

The Gown a Protestant Standard.

We may now submit, that not only has Canonical authority for the use of the Gown in preaching been fairly set forth, but that its "long-continued usage" has been traced uninterruptedly from the Reformation to the present time. The "Ridsdale Judgment" has ratified its continuance. If the principle "*Contemporanea expositio fortissima est in lege*" does not amount to this, we may at least ask for its real meaning. Let the evidence and arguments, furnished in these pages, be frankly met and fully answered. We court candid criticism, and shrink not from honest refutation. We have shown that the Law distinguishes between Ministering and Preaching; that this distinction is marked by appropriate vestments; and that the Convocations and Statutes, the Injunctions and Visitation Articles, which have been cited, were intended to enforce the Gown on Preachers. That the Gown is the present costume of Preachers, whether before Her Majesty or Her Judges, in our Cathedrals or at our Universities. Until rebutting evidence and counter-argument, if forthcoming, be produced, let opponents abstain, in common justice, from advancing the grave charge of "*lawlessness*" against clergymen, who, believing themselves bound to canonical obedience, are striving to observe with due consistency the laws and customs of the Reformed Church of their forefathers.

One further remark remains. It is often asked—"What matters the dress if the Gospel be preached?" And this query is advanced as if it were conclusive. Now to this we reply, that, *In itself* it matters not a feather's weight, and *if* no principle be involved, our subject is not worth the paper on which we write. This question, however, is altogether beside the mark, since we are not discussing the efficacy of a garment, but the custom of a Church. It so happens that costume and colour is often fraught, as a matter of fact, with much significance. The Yorkist and the Lancastrian in our Wars of the Roses, the Bourbon and the Republican in the wars of the French Revolution, fought with equal valour; and Undergraduates in our annual boat race have contended for victory with equal courage. Who supposes that their distinctive badges influenced their zeal? and yet, a political principle may be indicated by white and red, and an University known even by a shade in blue.

The real question of the gown in the pulpit is its effect, not on the preacher, but on the people. Many who listen carelessly, will judge by what *they see* rather than by what they hear, and it is this which imposes importance on a matter apparently unimportant in itself. The Gown, as the garb of the Huguenot, the Lutheran, the Calvinist, the Presbyterian, has distinguished the *European Protestant* and, to the popular eye of England, it has identified her preacher with his continental brethren of the Reformation. For three centuries, the gown, in its Ecclesiastical aspect, has been the badge, not of a party within a Church, but of many Churches united on a great principle.

It has sometimes been contemptuously styled "Genevan," because of its association with the distinctive Protestant doctrines which marked the Swiss citadel of truth. When was the use of the Gown first challenged in England? By whom? Its attempted suppression was one of the earliest innovations of the Tractarians. Whatever their intention, the effect, where successful, must be the same. The mark of Protestantism is removed from the parochial pulpit, the preacher's appeal to private judgment is necessarily modified, and the force of our sixth Article imperceptibly weakened. In its stead the Church's vestment is intended to clothe the minister's words with the semblance of Church authority, and the teaching which has thus been advanced is too notorious to need description. In the *Church Times* of March 30, 1867, the leading article declared:—

"War then it shall be. But, that point once settled, the question is, What shall "be the tactics by which the campaign shall be conducted? . . . . Let each "of those which is a little behind, and only a little, gradually take up the same "position, and let this process be carried on (only without haste or wavering) "down to the last in the chain. *A story is told of a dishonest baker* who kept "himself and his family in meat at a nominal cost by purchasing the very smallest "leg of mutton to be had, and exchanging this for the next in size sent him by his "customers, and repeating the process until he had succeeded in obtaining nearly "twenty pounds of meat for his original six or seven, without any one customer "being able to detect the fraud in his own case. *The cheating baker may point a "parable as the Unjust Steward has done.* Where there is only the ordinary "parish routine, but, where the preaching is honest and sound, *let a gradual "change be brought in. . . . . Where the black gown is in use in the pulpit "on Sundays let it disappear in the week. The surplice will soon be preferred and "will oust its rival.* It is easy for each reader to see how some advance, all in "the same direction, can be made, and that without any offence taken."

It is certainly very significant that ten years later (10th August, 1877) the same paper rejoices over the success of these inimitable (!) "tactics" of the "dishonest baker." "Gradual change has been brought in," and in an article entitled "Taking Stock," tabulated with "Early," "Choral," and "Daily Celebrations"—with "Vestments," "Incense," and "Altar Lights," etc.—we find the "*Surplice in the Pulpit*"—as advancing in the last eight years from 13·1 to 55·4—"to demonstrate not only the great and rapidly augmenting popularity of the Catholic movement, but the contempt into which its opponents are falling." Thus, the "parable" on "cheating" has told, even in this matter of the Gown. What has been the result of their ten years' process of baking? Why, the surplice in the pulpit has paved the way to vestments in the chancel; a movement, begun in tracts and "tactics," has grown to a "conspiracy;" and incipient innovation has ended in the confessional! Surely true Churchmen, in this crisis, will not ignore the canonical custom of centuries, and abandon one of the standards of pronounced Protestantism to tread in the footsteps of innovators. There is no rule without its exception, and necessity may compel an occasional departure from

canonical obedience: but the true position of the consistent English clergyman is simply this:—In the surplice, he stands before his people as an ordained minister of the Church, bound to her liturgy and ruled by her rubrics; but in the Academical Gown, he stands as a licensed preacher of the diocese, considered a competent instructor, and therefore permitted by his Bishop to use his own words. The Morning or Evening Prayer concluded, he lays aside the surplice, and in academical or canonical costume now enters upon a separate function of his office, which may be, and often has been, suspended by the same authority that confers it. No longer restricted to the language of the Church, he appeals in his own to the judgment of his hearers, inviting them to search the Scriptures and see if his words be true.

We close our remarks with the following extract from "The Laws of the Church and Clergy" (page 706), by H. W. Cripps, Q.C.

"*Surplice not to be used in preaching.*—As to the use of the surplice as a proper "habit for the preacher, it never appears to have been even contemplated either by "the Canon or the Statute law; the directions of which appear so plainly to indicate "the different times at which the surplice is to be used, *that it is not easy to* "*imagine in what manner an opinion could have prevailed that its use had ever* "*been considered proper* in *the pulpit. The error* may possibly have arisen from "the custom, for the deans, masters, prebendaries, fellows, etc., in cathedrals or "colleges, to wear their surplices while preaching in their own cathedral or "college, *but these they wear on such occasions not as preachers* or as persons "ministering, but because it is the *ordinary dress* which they are directed to wear, "and which they do always wear when they attend their cathedral or college "church or chapel, whether ministering, *or as members of the congregation* only; "and which surplices even lay fellows of colleges ordinarily wear when attending "service at their college chapels. Others have supposed *this error* to have arisen "from the circumstance, that the rubric may possibly be so construed as to suppose "the morning sermon to be a part of the order of the administration of the Lord's "Supper, which however would involve the manifest absurdity of using a different "habit in performing precisely the same office according to the time of the day at "which it might be performed; but, in truth, the meaning of 'preaching being a "part of such a service' is not very clear or definite: and even if it were so in "the fullest sense, yet, as it is clearly not performed in the same place, there is "no argument that it should be in the same habit."

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Ritualism:
A Romeward Movement.

TESTIMONY OF THE EPISCOPAL BENCH.

THE late **Archbishop of Canterbury**, addressing the Upper House of Convocation on July 6th, 1877, thus spoke of the Ritualists:

"No admiration of any points in their character ought, I think, to make us hesitate, whatever may be the difficulties, to do whatever may appear to be our duty in the endeavours to counteract what I believe to be, and am obliged to call, a conspiracy in our body against the doctrine, the discipline, and the practice of our Reformed Church."—*Times*, July 7th, 1877.

The late **Archbishop of Canterbury** (Longley), in his posthumous charge, wrote:

"It is no want of charity, therefore, to declare that they (the Ritualists) remain with us in order that they may substitute the Mass for the Communion; the obvious aim of the Reformers having been to substitute the Communion for the Mass" (p. 21).

The late **Archbishops of Canterbury and York**, replying to a memorial signed by sixty thousand lay members of the Church of England, calling attention to the Romish character of the Ritualistic movement, wrote on June 16th, 1873:

"There can be no doubt that the danger you apprehend of a considerable minority both of clergy and laity amongst us desiring to subvert the principles of the Reformation is real. . . . We feel justified in appealing to all reasonable men to consider whether the very existence of our National institutions for the maintenance of religion is not imperilled by the evils of which you complain."

The late **Bishop of Bath and Wells**, in his Charge, 1873, said:

"It is notorious that there are those in the Church at the present day who have deliberately and avowedly undertaken the task of revolutionizing the Church of England as to her doctrine and her ritual, and of effecting her reunion with the Church of Rome. There is scarcely a single doctrine of that corrupt communion which it has not been attempted of late to bring back." The Bishop calls it "An attempt to re-impose Popery on the English Church," and he asserts that "There is a deliberate conspiracy on foot somewhere to bring back the Church of England to communion with and obedience to the Pope of Rome."

The late **Bishop of St. David's**, in his Charge, 1866, wrote:

"Nothing, in my judgment, can be more mischievous, as well

as in more direct contradiction to notorious facts, than to deny or ignore the Romeward tendency of the movement."

And again in his Charge delivered in 1872, he said:

"They make no secret of their desire and intention, so far as lies in their power, to bring about a complete transformation of the Church of England into the likeness of the Church of Rome in every particular, short of immediate submission to the Pope."

The late **Bishop of Carlisle** (Dr. Waldegrave) in a Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of his Diocese, in 1866, said:

"There can be no longer any doubt that there exists, at this moment, within the pale of the Church of England, an organised combination, the object of which is the reinstatement amongst us of those distinctive observances and doctrines of the Church of Rome, which were cast forth at the time of the blessed Reformation" (p. 1).

The late **Bishop of Peterborough,** in his charge, 1872, wrote:

"No one can deny—the most advanced members of the party do not themselves care to deny—that it is, in its latest development, marked by a close and even servile imitation of all the minutest details of Roman Catholic ceremonial; a hankering after Romish theology and Romish forms of private devotion; an almost childish affectation of all the most Romish modes of thought and forms of expression" (p. 40).

The late **Bishop of Llandaff** (Dr. Ollivant), in a speech in Convocation, February, 1866, said:

"This has been called a Romeward movement, while others have denied that it is so. I cannot but consider this a Romeward movement, and a very rapid movement."

The late **Bishop Wilberforce,** in his last speech in the House of Lords, 1873, said:

"I hate and abhor the attempt to Romanize the Church of England."

TESTIMONY OF RITUALISTS.

In *Essays on the Reunion of Christendom*, edited by the Rev. F. G. Lee, D.C.L., with an Introductory Essay by the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., the following passage occurs on p. 180:

"The marvel is, that Roman Catholics whatever their views may be, do not see the wisdom of aiding us to the utmost. Admitting that we are but a lay body with no pretensions to the name of a Church, we yet, in our belief (however mistaken) that we are one, are doing for England that which they cannot do. We are teaching men to believe that God is to be worshipped under the form of Bread, and they are learning the lesson from us which they have refused to learn from the Roman teachers who have been among us for the last three hundred years. We are teaching men to endure willingly the pain of confession, which is an intense trial to the reserved Anglo-Saxon nature, and to believe that a man's 'I absolve thee,' is the voice of God. How many English Protestants have

Roman priests brought to Confession, compared with the Anglican clergy? Could they have overcome the English dislike to 'mummery,' as we are overcoming it? On *any* hypothesis we are doing their work."

A leading article in *The Church Times* of March 24th, 1861—the organ of the Ritualists—contains the following statement:—

"We are contending, as our adversaries know full well, for the extirpation of Protestant opinions and practices, not merely within the Church itself, but throughout all England. . . . . What we want is not to force a Close or a McNeile into a Popish vestment, but to make Closes and McNeiles as extinct for the future as the dodo. We do not care one solitary straw whether a man preaches in surplice, gown, coat, or shirt sleeves, so long as he does not preach any sort of Protestantism."

The Rev. E. L. Blenkinsopp, in *The Church and the World*, (first series, second edition, p. 212), writes thus:

"Anglicans are reproached by Protestants with their resemblance to Romans; they say a stranger entering into a church where ritual is carefully attended to, might easily mistake it for a Roman Service. Of course he might; the whole purpose of the great revival has been to eliminate the dreary Protestantism of the Hanoverian period, and restore the glory of Catholic worship. Our churches are restored after the mediæval pattern, and our ritual must accord with the Catholic standard."

TESTIMONY OF ROMAN CATHOLICS.

Monsignor Capel, in a letter in *The Times* of January 12th, 1875, wrote:

"When I see our prayers transferred wholesale to Ritualistic books of devotion; when authors, like Mr. Orby Shipley, publish the *Ritual of the Altar* according to the use of the Church of England, and I find therein the whole of our Mass; when convert clergy and laity from the Ritualistic party assure me they have been in the habit of confessing and receiving absolution; have constantly prayed to the saints and angels; and have neither added to nor taken away from what they believed as Ritualists concerning the blessed Sacrament, I cannot, notwithstanding Canon Liddon's explanations, do otherwise than assert that the Ritualistic clergy are assuredly disseminating our doctrines."

The Union Review, Vol. V., p. 412, plainly confesses that—

"The work now going on in England is an earnest and carefully organised attempt, on the part of a rapidly increasing body of priests and laymen, to bring our Church and country up to the full standard of Catholic faith and practice, and eventually to plead for her union with you [Rome]."

Dr. J. H. Newman thus wrote to Bishop Ullathorne:

"The Ritualists are leavening the various English denominations and parties (far beyond their own range) with principle

and sentiments tending towards their ultimate absorption into the Catholic Church."

The Weekly Register (Roman Catholic paper) writes:

"In England the work of conversion has continued during the past year with steady and not very slow steps. . . . The number of converts in London alone has been upwards of two thousand during the past year. . . . Many . . . have joined us who were all but Catholics, and who had little need of instruction before they made up their minds to take the final step. From every Ritualistic congregation in London there is a continual stream of converts drifting towards us. . . . Out of every twenty Anglicans who joined the Catholic Church not less than seventeen have been prepared for the step by the teaching they have heard from Ritualistic pulpits, and by the practices they have got accustomed to in Ritualistic churches."

WHAT IS RITUALISM?

The **Prime Minister,** in his Speech on the Public Worship Regulation Bill, answering the question, "What is Ritualism?" said:

"I mean by Ritualism the practice by a certain portion of the clergy of the Church of England of ceremonies, which they themselves confess are symbolical of doctrine which they are pledged by every solemn compact which can bind men to their Sovereign and their country to denounce and repudiate. And of all the false pretences of this body of men there is in my opinion none more glaring and pernicious than their pretending that they are a portion of the High Church party of England."—*Times*, August 6th, 1874.

The reply to the question, WHAT IS RITUALISM? cannot be better stated than in the words of Bishop McIlwaine (recently deceased), of the Protestant Church in America:

"The whole system of Ritualism is one of Church, instead of Christ—priest, instead of the Gospel—concealment of truth instead of manifestation of truth—ignorant superstition instead of enlightened faith—bondage wherein we are promised liberty, —all tending to load us with whatever is odious in the worst meaning of priestcraft, in place of the free, affectionate, enlarging, elevating, and cheerful liberty of a child of God."

We ask with all loyal Churchmen, in the words of the late Bishop of Bath and Wells:

"Shall the Mighty Revolution of the Sixteenth Century be undone, and shall we have a Restoration? a Restoration of the Popedom on British soil? a Restoration of all those corruptions, those follies, those idolatries, those perversions of the Truth, those wretched debasing superstitions, and that priestly tyranny, which for so many centuries almost quenched the Light of Christianity and annihilated the liberties of the Laity?"

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THE DISTINCTIVE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

By the REV. J. C. RYLE, M.A.,

HON. CANON OF NORWICH, AND RECTOR OF STRADBROKE.

Paper read at the Autumn Conference of the Church Association, held in the Athenæum Room, Derby, on the 5th and 6th November, 1878.

I have chosen this subject for two simple but weighty reasons. Let me explain briefly what they are.

My first reason is the abounding ignorance which prevails among many churchmen about the real principles of the communion to which they belong. Myriads, I am afraid, attend our churches, from year to year, who could not, if their lives depended on it, give an orderly account of the leading doctrines of the Church of England. They have been baptized and confirmed, and perhaps admitted to the Lord's Supper in our pale. They attend our services and use our Prayer Book. They are even zealous for the union of Church and State. But they have never read the Articles or thoroughly investigated the Creeds. Romanists and Dissenters are generally well acquainted with the leading principles of their respective systems. The churchman too often knows nothing of his. To lessen this ignorance, and supply a little light, is one object of this paper.

My other reason is the rise and progress in the land of much unsound teaching under the specious name of "Church principles." That vague, misty, and indefinite phrase seems to turn many people's heads, and attracts adherents who use it without knowing what they mean. There is a kind of fascination about it which appears to rob people of their common sense. They go up and down the world talking incessantly of "sound Church principles" and "true

Church views" without the slightest clear idea what they mean. Nay, worse than that, if you bring them to book, you find that their favourite expression often covers a whole shoal of weak, foolish, and unscriptural and semi-Romish opinions. To expose the fallacy of these so-called "Church principles," and to exhibit in contrast the true distinctive principles of the Church of England, is the second object which I have in view in this paper.

It will clear my way at the outset, if I remind you that the "Church principles" of which I am going to speak to-day are the principles of the Established Church of England. The "Catholic Church" is a favourite expression which is continually used in the present age. But it is one of those great, swelling, high-sounding, vague expressions which mean anything, everything, or nothing, according to the animus of him who uses them, and I shall pass it by. "Primitive" principles, "mediæval" principles, "ancient" principles, "Catholic" principles I shall not dwell upon, though I could say much. I shall stick to my text. The principles I am here to consider are the principles of that Reformed Church of England, which was emancipated from Rome 300 years ago,—the Church whose foundations were cemented with the blood of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and their martyred companions,—the Church which was temporarily overthrown by the semi-Romanism of Laud,—drained of its life-blood by Charles II.'s Act of Uniformity,—revived by the noble work of Whitfield, Romaine, and Venn in the last century,—and which, in spite of many traitors within and many Liberationists without, is still recognized by Queen, Lords, and Commons as the Established Church of the realm. *Esto perpetua.* The principles of that Church I am here to exhibit and defend.

To the remark I have just made, in order to clear our way, I must add one more, which I fear will startle some churchmen. When I speak to-day of the "distinctive principles of the Church of England," I do not mean for a moment its distinctive Episcopal government, or its distinctive Liturgical mode of worship. Much as I value Bishops and a Prayer Book, I cannot forget that a Church may possess them, and yet be in a most corrupt and useless condition. The trumpet of Ecclesiastical history gives no uncertain sound on this point. The African, and Syrian, and Asiatic Churches, whose candlestick has long been taken away, are plain proofs that you want something more than Bishops and Prayer Books in order to keep a Church alive. No! The distinctive principles of the Church of England which I have in view are those mighty doctrinal principles which have been her strength and her stay for 300 years. I mean those distinctive principles on which her walls were built by Cranmer, and Ridley, and Jewell, at the era of the blessed Reformation,—principles which, though sorely jeopardized at some periods of our history, have never been entirely suppressed, and though cast down, have not been destroyed. To the maintenance of those

principles, and not to Episcopacy or a Liturgy, I believe our Church owes any measure of power, influence, usefulness, or blessing from God, which it has enjoyed for the last three centuries. Once let those principles be forsaken and repudiated, and our Church will decay and die, like those ancient Churches which I have just named. To state as briefly as possible what those principles are, is my main object in drawing up this paper.

Now, where shall we turn in order to find out these great distinctive principles to which I have just been referring? I answer, unhesitatingly, to the Thirty-nine Articles, which are to be found at the end of every complete and unmutilated copy of the Book of Common Prayer. Those Articles, however little known and read by many, are the Church's authorized Confession of Faith. Their very title calls them "Articles agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishment of consent touching true religion." He that really wants to ascertain what are sound "Church views" and "Church principles," ought certainly to turn first to the Thirty-nine Articles.

Of course I am aware that the Articles find no favour with some, and are thought hard, and narrow, and strict, and obsolete, and ill-adapted to these times. "Give me the Church's Prayer Book," they say, "and do not talk to me about the Articles." But there are several awkward facts, which these people appear to forget.—They forget that the Articles form a part of the Prayer Book itself, and that no copy of our Liturgy is complete which does not contain them.—Furthermore, they forget that even in the days of the unhappy Charles the First a declaration was prefixed to the Articles, containing these words: "The Articles of the Church of England do contain the true doctrine of the Church of England agreeable to God's Word."—Last, and worst of all, they forget that the law of the land, which was first passed in Elizabeth's time, and then actually re-enacted in Queen Victoria's reign, requires every clergyman, instituted to any living, when he begins to officiate in his church, "publicly and openly, in the presence of his congregation, to read the whole Thirty-nine Articles, and immediately after reading to make the declaration of assent to them," and to say, "I believe the doctrine of the Church of England, as therein set forth, to be agreeable to the Word of God." These are indisputable facts, which cannot be explained away. In the face of these facts, I maintain that no loyal churchman has a right to complain if I turn to the Articles in order to ascertain the distinctive principles of the Church of England.

But I shall not leave this subject here. Short memories about everything in religion, from the fourth commandment downward, are so sadly common, and the device of playing off the Prayer Book against the Articles, as if they were contrary one to the other,

is so shamefully prevalent, that I shall supply a few more facts about the Articles which are well worth remembering. They all tend to confirm, strengthen, and fortify the authority and value of the Thirty-nine Articles. Let us take the evidence of six well-known English divines, who have long passed away from this world.

(1) Let us hear the evidence of "Thomas Rogers," Chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, who published, in 1607, the first Exposition of the Articles which ever appeared. This book, written within forty years of the time when the Articles were finally ratified, was dedicated to the Archbishop, and was a work of great authority at the time. In the Preface to this work he says:—

"The purpose of our Church is best known by the doctrine which "she does profess: the doctrine by the Thirty-nine Articles estab-"lished by Act of Parliament; the Articles by the words whereby "they are expressed: and other doctrine than in the said Articles is "contained, our Church neither hath nor holdeth, and other sense "they cannot yield than their words do impart."

(2) Let us next hear what great and good Bishop Hall says, in his work on "The Old Religion:" "The Church of England, in "whose motherhood we have all come to pride ourselves, hath in "much wisdom and piety delivered her judgment concerning all "necessary points of religion, in so complete a body of divinity as "all hearts may rest in. These we read, these we write under, as "professing not their truth only, but their sufficiency also. The "voice of God our Father, in His Scriptures, and, out of them, the "voice of the Church our mother, in her Articles, is that which "must both guide and settle our resolutions. Whatsoever is beside "these, is either private, or unnecessary, or uncertain."—"Hall's "Works," Oxford edition, vol. ix., p. 308.)

(3) Let us next hear what Bishop Stillingfleet says, in his "Unreasonableness of Separation:" "This we all say, that the "doctrine of the Church of England is contained in the Thirty-nine "Articles; and whatever the opinions of private persons may be, "this is the standard by which the sense of our Church is to be "taken." (London, 4to. edition, p. 95. 1631.)

(4) Let us next hear what Bishop Burnet says: "The Thirty-"nine Articles are the sum of our doctrines, and the confession of "our faith." ("Burnet on Articles," Pref., p. i., Oxford edition. 1831.)

(5) Let us next hear what Bishop Beveridge says, in the Preface to his great work on the Articles: "The Bishops and clergy of both "provinces of this nation, in a Council held at London, 1562, agreed "upon certain Articles of Religion, to the number of thirty-nine, "which to this day remain the constant and settled doctrine of our

"Church; which, by an Act of Parliament of the 13th of Queen "Elizabeth, 1571, all that are entrusted with any ecclesiastical pre- "ferments, are bound to subscribe to." ("Beveridge on Articles," vol. i., p. 9, Oxford edition. 1840.)

(6) Let us hear, lastly, what Bishop Tomline says: "The Thirty- "nine Articles are the criterion of the faith of the members of the "Church of England." ("Elements of Theol.," vol. ii., p. 34. 1799.) And in another place he says: "The articles are to be subscribed in "their plain and obvious sense, and assent is to be given to them "simply and unequivocally. If the candidate for holy orders thinks "that he sees reason to dissent from any of the doctrines asserted "in them, no hope of emolument or honour, no dread of incon- "venience or disappointment, should induce him to express his "solemn assent to propositions which in fact he does not believe. "And let it ever be remembered that in a business of this serious "and important nature, no species whatever of evasion or subterfuge, "or reserve, is to be allowed, or can be, practised, without imminent "danger of incurring the wrath of God." ("Elements of Theol.," vol. ii., p. 567.)

It would be easy to multiply witnesses, and to overload the subject with evidence. But in these matters enough is as good as a feast. Enough, probably, has been said to satisfy any candid and impartial mind that the ground I have taken up about the Articles has not been taken up in vain. He that desires to go more deeply into the subject would do well to consult Dean Goode's writings about it, in a controversy which he held with the late Bishop of Exeter. In that remarkable controversy, I am bold to say, the Dean proved himself more than a match for the Bishop. (Goode's "Defence of "Thirty-nine Articles, and Vindication of Defence." Hatchard. 1848.)

One remark I must make, in self-defence, before leaving this branch of my subject. I particularly request that no one who hears me will misunderstand the grounds I have been taking up. Let no one suppose that I think lightly of the Prayer Book, because I do not regard it as the Church of England's primary standard and test of truth. Nothing could be more erroneous than such an idea. In loyal love to the Prayer Book, and deep admiration of its contents, I give place to no man. Taken for all in all, as an uninspired work, it is an incomparable book of devotion for the use of a Christian congregation. This is a position I would defend anywhere and everywhere. But the Church of England's Book of Common Prayer was never intended to be the Church's standard of doctrine in the same way that the Articles were. This was not meant to be its office; this was not the purpose for which it was compiled. It is a manual of public devotion: it is not a confession of faith. Let us love it, honour it, prize it, reverence it, admire it, use it. But let us not exalt it to the place which the Thirty-nine Articles alone

can fill, and which common sense, statute law, and the express opinions of eminent divines unanimously agree in assigning to them. The Articles, far more than the Prayer Book, are the Church's standard of sound doctrine, and the real test of true Churchmanship.

And now, with the Thirty-nine Articles in my hand, let me try to point out what are the great distinctive principles of the Church of England. I make the attempt with unfeigned diffidence. I have a painful recollection of "our unhappy divisions." I am well aware that beside disloyal semi-Romish churchmen and disloyal semi-sceptical churchmen, there are hundreds of loyal members of our communion who do not see things as I do. But all this is no reason why I should not give my opinion, and exhibit the subject as it occurs to me. At any rate, I have a very decided opinion, and you shall hear what it is.

I. The first distinctive principle of the Church of England appears to me to be its *unvarying reverence for holy Scripture.* It always recognizes "the supremacy and sufficiency" of God's Word written, as the only rule of faith and practice. (Lambeth Synod, 1878.)

Its theory is that man is required to believe nothing as necessary to salvation which is not in the Bible. It totally denies that there is any other guide for man's soul co-equal or co-ordinate with the Bible. The supreme authority of Scripture, in short, is one of the corner-stones of the Church of England. Here, it would have its members know, is rock: all else is sand.

The Sixth Article declares that "holy Scripture contains all things "necessary to salvation, and that whatsoever is not read therein, "nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that "it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite "and necessary to salvation."

The Eighth Article says that "the three creeds ought thoroughly "to be believed and received, for they may be proved by most "certain warranty of Holy Scripture."

The Twentieth Article says, "It is not lawful for the Church to "ordain anything that is contrary to God's Word written, neither "may it so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to "another."

The Twenty-first Article says that "things ordained by General "Councils as necessary to salvation, have neither strength nor "authority unless it be declared that they be taken from Holy "Scripture."

The Twenty-second Article condemns certain Romish functions, "because they are grounded on no warranty of Scripture, but are "rather repugnant to the Word of God."

The Twenty-eighth Article condemns Transubstantiation, "because

"it cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but is repugnant to the plain "words of Scripture."

The Thirty-fourth Article says that "traditions and ceremonies "of the Church may be changed, so long as nothing is ordained "against God's Word."

Now I see in all this abundant proof that the Bible, and the Bible only, is the rule of faith in the Church of England, and that no doctrine is "Church doctrine" which cannot be reconciled with God's Word. I see a complete answer to those who tell us that we make an idol of the Bible, and that we ought to go to the voice of the Church and to the Prayer Book for direction. I see that any sense placed on any part of the Prayer Book which is not reconcilable with Scripture, must be a mistake, and ought not to be received. I see, above all, that all who pour contempt on the Bible, as an imperfect, defective Book, which is not complete without "ancient "tradition," and ought not to be believed if it contradicts "modern "thought," are taking up ground which is at variance with the Church's own Confession of Faith. They may be devout, zealous, clever, earnest, and confident persons; but they are contradicting the Articles, and they are not sound churchmen.

II. The second distinctive principle of the Church of England appears to me to be *its doctrinal Evangelicalism.* I am afraid that in saying this, I use a phrase which some will think offensive and controversial. I am sorry for it, but I can find no other language to convey my meaning. What I do mean is, that our Church's Confession of Faith gives an unmistakable prominence to those doctrines which, rightly or wrongly, are called in this day "Evan- "gelical."

For the proof of this assertion I will simply refer you to the titles, contents, and order of the first eighteen Articles out of the thirty-nine, and then ask any unprejudiced thinking man to give us his opinion. What kind of subjects will he find handled in twelve out of the eighteen? Why, such great doctrinal subjects as the sufficiency of Scripture, in the sixth Article,—everlasting life through Christ offered to mankind in the Old Testament as well as in the New, in the seventh,—original sin, in the ninth,—free-will and the need of God's grace, in the tenth,—justification by faith, in the eleventh,—good works as the fruits of justification, in the twelfth,—the uselessness of works before justification, in the thirteenth,—the nullity of works of supererogation, in the fourteenth,—Christ alone without sin, in the fifteenth,—sin after baptism, in the sixteenth,—election and its evidences, in the seventeenth,—and eternal salvation only by Christ, in the eighteenth. And in what position will he find these great subjects? Why, they are placed in the forefront of the whole Confession of the Church! They occupy the post of honour, as the weightiest and most important matters of the faith.

And it is not till the mind of the Church has been fully declared about them, that we find anything about the visible Church, the ministry, or the sacraments. To them the second place is unmistakably assigned.

Now what shall we say to these things? I will answer that question by putting before you a hypothetical case. Let us suppose for a moment that one of the leading churches in Derby or Nottingham is vacant by the death of the incumbent, and a new clergyman has to be appointed. Let us suppose that the bias and inclination of the patron are not known, and that no one can tell whom he will select. Let us suppose, furthermore, that the clergyman whom he finally presents is an entire stranger in Derby or Nottingham, and that no one has the least idea what opinions he holds, and to what school of thought in the Church he belongs. Let us suppose, furthermore, that this unknown clergyman commences his duties, and for the first three months is continually preaching bold, decided, out-spoken sermons, about such points as the sufficiency of Scripture, original sin, the need of grace, justification by faith, and salvation only by Christ; and though he occasionally refers to other matters, makes the great doctrines I have just referred to the staple of his preaching. Let us just suppose all this, and then ask ourselves what conclusion the people of Derby or Nottingham would form? Why I will engage to say that if you picked a jury of the first twelve intelligent hearers of the man, and asked them at the end of three months what kind of a man the new parson was, their verdict would be decided and unanimous,—"He is thoroughly Evangelical."

I ask any impartial man to apply this hypothetical case to the point which I am now trying to handle. I ask him to study our Church's Confession of Faith, and to notice carefully the contents and order of the first eighteen Articles, and to observe what comes first and what comes second, in the whole thirty-nine. And then I appeal to his common sense, and ask him if it is possible to deny that one distinctive principle of the Church of England is its Evangelicalism.

Before I pass on, let me venture to advise my fellow-churchmen never to be ashamed of holding Evangelical views. Those views, I am quite aware, are not fashionable now-a-days. Th y are ridiculed as old-fashioned, narrow, defective, and effete. Those who maintain them are regarded as illiberal, impracticable old fossils. Never mind! We have no cause to be ashamed. Evangelicalism is not dead yet. Its whole-hearted and thorough adherents live well and die well, and do some good in the world. And, not least, Evangelicalism is one of the distinctive principles of the Thirty-nine Articles, and therefore of the Church of England.

III. The third distinctive principle of the Church of England

appears to me to be its *clear and outspoken testimony against the errors of the Church of Rome.*

This is a point, I am sorry to say, about which there is a sad amount of unsoundness among churchmen in the present day. Some seem thoroughly ashamed of the Reformers and the Protestant Reformation, and can talk coolly of the possibility of reunion with the Papacy. Others profess to dislike controversy about Popery, and avoid reference to it as much as possible. The plague is abroad. The old English dislike to Romanism is cooling down most painfully. To hear a Bishop or an Archdeacon charge boldly against Popery, and praise up the martyred Ridley and Latimer, is becoming so rare that it is as refreshing as the discovery of a new pleasure, or an ice-cream in the tropics. But all this time what say the Articles? I assert unhesitatingly that a thoroughly Protestant spirit runs throughout them, and their testimony against Romish error is clear, ringing, and unmistakable.

What says the Nineteenth Article? "The Church of Rome hath "erred, not only in living and manner of ceremonies, but also "in matters of faith."

What says the Twenty-second Article? "The Romish doctrine "concerning purgatory, pardons, worshipping and adoration, as well "of images as of reliques, and also of invocation of saints, is a fond "thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, "but rather repugnant to the Word of God."

What says the Twenty-fourth Article? It forbids the Romish custom of having public prayers and ministering the sacraments in Latin.

What says the Twenty-fifth Article? It declares that the five Romish sacraments of confirmation, penance, orders, matrimony, and extreme unction, are not to be accounted sacraments of the Gospel.

What says the Twenty-eighth Article? It declares that "tran- "substantiation, or the change of the substance of bread and wine in "the Lord's Supper, cannot be proved by Holy Writ, is repugnant to "the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a "sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions." It also declares that "the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was "not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, "or worshipped."

What says the Thirtieth Article? "The cup of the Lord is not "to be denied to the lay-people."

What says the Thirty-first Article? "The sacrifices of masses, "in which it was commonly said the priest did offer Christ for "the quick and dead, to have remission of pain and guilt, were "blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceit."

What says the Thirty-second Article? "Bishops, priests, and "deacons are not commanded by God's law to vow the estate of "single life, or to abstain from marriage."

What says the Thirty-seventh Article? "The Bishop of Rome "hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England."

What shall we say to all this? *Nine times over* the Thirty-nine Articles condemn in plain and explicit language the leading doctrines of the Church of Rome, and declare in favour of what must be called Protestant views. And yet men dare to tell us that we Evangelical clergymen have no right to denounce Popery,—that it is very wrong and very uncharitable to be so hot in favour of Protestantism,—that Romanism is a pretty good sort of thing,—and that by making such a piece of work about Popery, and Protestantism, and Ritualism, and semi-Popery, we are only troubling the country and doing more harm than good. Well, I am content to point to the Thirty-nine Articles. There is my apology; There is my defence! I will take up no other ground at present. I will not say, as I might do, that Popery is an unscriptural system, which every free nation ought to oppose. I simply point to the Thirty-nine Articles. I ask any one to explain how any English clergyman can be acting consistently, if he does not oppose, denounce, expose, and resist Popery in every shape, either within the Church or without. Other Christians may do as they please, and countenance Popery if they like. But so long as the Articles stand unrepealed and unaltered, Protestantism is a distinctive principle of the Church of England, and it is the bounden duty of every clergyman to oppose Popery.

IV. The fourth distinctive principle of the Church of England appears to me to be *its rejection of any sacerdotal or sacrificial character in the Christian ministry.*

I hope I need hardly remind this meeting that the alleged "sacerdotalism" of ministers is one of the oldest and most mischievous errors which has ever plagued Christendom. Partly from an ignorant hankering after the priesthood of that Judaism which passed away when Christ died,—partly from the love of power and dignity which is natural to ministers as much as to other men,—partly from the preference of unconverted man for a supposed priest and mediator whom he can see, rather than one in heaven whom he cannot see,—partly from the general ignorance of men before the Bible was printed and circulated,—partly from one cause, and partly from another, there has been an incessant tendency through the last eighteen centuries to exalt ministers to an unscriptural position, and to regard them as priests and mediators between God and man. How much the Church of Rome has erred in this direction with its so-called sacrifice of the mass and its organized system of auricular confession, and what enormous evils have resulted from these errors, I have no time to describe now.

The disease, I am sorry to say, has infected our own Church. There are scores of English churches at this moment in which the service is so conducted, that you might think you were in a Popish chapel. The Lord's Supper is administered as a sacrifice far more than as a sacrament, and the clergy are practically acting as sacrificing priests and mediators between God and man. The Lord's table is called an "altar," although it is never so called in the Prayer Book. The consecrated elements are treated with an idolatrous reverence, as if God Himself was present under the forms of bread and wine. The habit of private confession to clergymen, as absolving priests, is encouraged and urged on the people. I speak as to wise men. You know that what I say is true.

Now I have not time to point out fully that there is not a word in the Acts or the Epistles to show that the Apostles ever professed to be sacrificing priests, or to make any material oblation in the Lord's Supper, or to hear private confessions, and confer judicial absolutions. But I do ask you to remember that there is not a sentence in the Articles to warrant the idea of a sacerdotal and sacrificial ministry.

In the Twenty-third Article we are simply told that "It is not "lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, "or ministering the Sacraments in the congregation, before he be "lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought "to judge lawfully called and sent which be chosen and called to "this work by men who have public authority, given unto them in "the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vine-"yard."

In the Thirty-first and Thirty-second Articles there is a marked distinction made between the Romish priest in the Thirty-first, who is called in the Latin version of the Article, "*sacerdos*" (a sacrificing priest), and the English priests in the Thirty-second, who are called in the same Latin version "*presbyteri*." Stronger evidence that the word "priest" in our Prayer Book, only means "presbyter," it would be hard to find.

Throughout the whole latter part of the Articles, from the Nineteenth to the Thirty-ninth, there is one uniform marked absence of a single word that could justify the idea of a sacerdotal ministry being sanctioned in the Church of England. In fact, there is a speaking silence, just as remarkable as the silence on the same subject in the pastoral Epistles to Timothy and Titus. That silence, I believe, was intentional. And the conclusion I draw is most decided,—that the compilers of the Articles purposely and deliberately rejected the idea of a sacerdotal and sacrificial ministry, and did not leave so much as a peg in the Articles to hang it upon.

If any man supposes that Evangelical churchmen undervalue the office of the Christian minister, he is totally mistaken. We regard

it as an honourable office instituted by Christ Himself, and of general necessity for carrying on the work of Christ's Gospel. We look on ministers as preachers of God's Word, God's ambassadors, God's messengers, God's servants, God's shepherds, God's stewards, God's overseers, and labourers in God's vineyard.

But we steadily refuse to admit that Christian ministers are in any sense sacrificing priests, mediators between God and man, lords of men's consciences, or private confessors. We refuse it, not only because we cannot see it in the Bible, but also because we have read the lessons of Church history, and seen the enormous evils to which it has given rise. We feel that sacerdotalism or priestcraft has often been the curse of Christianity, and the ruin of true religion. We say boldly that the exaltation of the ministerial office to an unscriptural place and extravagant dignity in the Church of England, is likely to alienate the affections of the laity, to ruin the Church, and to be the source of every kind of error and superstition. "Sacerdotalism," said an eminent Liberal statesman (Mr. Foster, of Bradford), not long ago, "if tolerated in the Established Church, "will in my own case turn an honest and fearless supporter of the "existing system into an equally honest and determined opponent." And we say, in addition, though last not least, that it has not the slightest warrant in the Thirty-nine Articles. A non-sacerdotal ministry is a distinctive principle of the Church of England.

V. The fifth and last distinctive principle of the Church of England appears to me to be *its wise, well balanced and moderate estimate of the sacraments.*

I need hardly tell this meeting that extravagant views of the effects of baptism and the Lord's Supper have been in every age of the Church the most fertile source of mischievous superstition. Such is the intensity of man's natural tendency to formalism in religion, that myriads have always clung to the idea that these two sacraments confer grace, independently of faith, in those that receive them, and that they work on the soul physically, like medicines on the body. The high-flown rhetorical language of the Fathers about them did immense harm in the early ages. The Church of Rome has stereotyped and crystallized the error, by the decree of the Council of Trent (7 Ses. 8 Canon. "Cramp's Text-book of "Popery," p. 155): "Whoever shall affirm that grace is not conferred "by these sacraments of the new law, by their own power (*ex opere "operato*), but that faith in the Divine promises is all that is neces- "sary to obtain grace: let him be accursed." Thousands of English churchmen, wittingly or unwittingly, seem to maintain practically the same view as the Church of Rome, and to attribute to the mere outward administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper a kind of invariable influence and power, no matter how they are used.

The harm that these extravagant views do to the souls of men is

incalculable. Multitudes live and die in the secret belief that they were "born again," and received the grace of the Spirit in baptism, though from their infancy they have known nothing of what the Church Catechism calls, "a death unto sin and a new birth unto "righteousness." They are not "dead to sin," but actually live in it: and yet forsooth they think they are born again! Multitudes more are continually receiving the Lord's Supper under the belief that somehow or other it must do them good, though they are utterly destitute of the Catechism standard, and neither "repent of sin,— "nor purpose to lead a new life,—nor have a lively faith in God's "mercy in Christ, nor a thankful remembrance of His death, nor live "in charity with all men." They seem, in short, to have imbibed the idea that the Lord's Supper can give grace to the graceless, and is a means of conversion and justification. And all this time the Scripture says expressly, "He is not a Jew, which is one outwardly; "neither is that circumscision which is outward in the flesh: but he "is a Jew which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the "heart, in the Spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not "of men, but of God." (Rom. ii. 29.) And again: "Baptism "doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, "but the answer of a good conscience towards God)." (1 Peter "iii. 21.) And again: "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, "eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's "body." (1 Cor. xi.)

Now, to these extravagant views of the effect of the sacraments, I unhesitatingly assert that the Church of England gives no countenance at all. The Twenty-fifth Article declares plainly that "in such *only* as worthily receive the same they have a wholesome "effect or operation; but they that receive them unworthily, purchase "to themselves damnation." The Twenty-eighth Article says, "To "such as rightly, worthily and with faith receive the Lord's Supper, "the bread is a communion of the body of Christ." The Twenty-ninth says: "The wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, "although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth the "Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they "partakers of Christ: but rather to their condemnation, do eat and "drink the sign of the Sacrament of so great a thing."

It is no answer to all this to quote the language of the Service for Infant Baptism, which says of every child baptized, "This child is regenerate." You might just as well say that every child who repeats the words of the Church Catechism is really "elect" and "sanctified." The utmost you can make of the expression is, as Bishop Carleton says, that "it is the charity of the Church;" or, as Bishop Downame, Archbishop Usher, and Dean Durel say, "the judgment of charity." The dictum of Lord-Chancellor Hatherley, in the Voysey judgment, must never be forgotten: "Pious expressions of devotion are not to be taken as binding "declarations of doctrine."—"The Articles," said the *Solicitor's*

Journal, when that judgment was delivered, "and those alone are to "be considered as the code of doctrine of the Church of England." And I repeat my deliberate conviction that the wise and moderate statement of the Articles, that grace is not invariably tied to either baptism or the Lord's Supper, is the true doctrine of our Church, and one of its distinctive principles.

I do hope my fellow-churchmen in this day will stand firm on this subject. There is, I am afraid, a sad disposition to give way and recede from Protestant truth in this direction. Partly from a fear of not honouring the sacraments enough, partly from the pressure of modern Ritualistic teaching, there is a strong tendency to exalt baptism and the Lord's Supper to a place never given to them in Scripture, and specially not in the pastoral Epistles. Let us set our foot down firmly on the wise and moderate principles laid down in our Articles, and refuse to go one inch beyond. Let us honour sacraments as holy ordinances appointed by Christ Himself, and blessed means of grace. But let us steadily refuse to admit that Christ's sacraments convey grace *ex opere operato*, and that in every case where they are administered good must of necessity be done, no matter how or by whom they are received. Let us refuse to admit that they are the only grand media between Christ and the soul,—above faith, above preaching, above prayer, and above the Word. Let us ever protest against the idea that in infant baptism the use of water, in the name of the Trinity, is invariably and necessarily accompanied by the new birth of the inward man. Let us never encourage any one to suppose he will receive any benefit from the Lord's Supper, unless he comes to it with repentance for sin, and lively faith in Christ, and charity toward all men. Acting on these principles no doubt we shall be reviled as Low churchmen, Zwinglians, "unlearned and ignorant men," and half Dissenters. But those who talk against us in this fashion will never satisfy a jury of impartial intelligent men that our views of the sacraments are not the wise, moderate, distinctive principles of the Church of England.

In drawing my paper to a conclusion, I may be allowed to observe that the statements I have made in it might easily be confirmed by a great cloud of witnesses. Our Church's reverence for Scripture as the only rule of faith,—our Church's Evangelicalism,—our Church's Protestantism,—our Church's repudiation of a sacerdotal ministry,—our Church's rejection of the *ex opere operato* theory of the sacraments,—all these points might be abundantly supported by quotation from the Liturgy, the Homilies, Bishop Jewell's Apology, and the writings of the Reformers and Elizabethan divines. But of course I have no time for this, and it is possible to overload men's minds in a day when people are sadly afflicted with intellectual dyspepsia, and cannot digest much. I have thought it better to stick to the Articles, and draw my argument solely and entirely from them. I only remark that those who have time to investigate

the subject further will be abundantly rewarded. Reading in Reformation theology is reading that will pay.

I am aware that the whole subject of my paper is one which, as Sir Roger de Coverley used to say, "There is much to be said on both sides." I shall be told that many loyal members of the Church of England, true-hearted and worthy men, averse alike to papacy and infidelity, spending and being spent daily for the Anglican Communion, do not see things as I do, and would not subscribe to the account of the Church's "distinctive principles" which I have laid before you to-day.

Well, I admit all this, fully and freely. "More's the pity!" It always has been so. It always will be so, I suppose. So long as human nature is what it is, you will never get all men to approach religious subjects from the same standpoint, or to attach precisely the same meaning to theological terms and words. So long as the early training of young English clergymen is so miserably defective as it is, I am not surprised at any amount of defective theology. Moreover, I know that our Church is largely and wisely comprehensive, and has always found room for more than one school in her pale. I frankly allow that those who disagree with the views I have expressed to-day, are just as loyal to the Church of England as myself, and I have not the slightest wish to ostracize them, or drive them out of our communion. Of course I think them mistaken, and they probably think just the same about me. But I do not want to unchurch them, so long as they honestly and *ex animo* subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles. Papists, Socinians, and infidels are certainly in the wrong place in the Church of England, and I cannot tolerate them. But within these limits I can tolerate a great deal, and cultivate hope and charity about others.

But while I admit all this, I cannot withhold my own decided conviction that the statement I have given of the distinctive principles of the Church of England is a true and correct one, that there is no flaw in the argument, and that no churchmen have less cause to be ashamed of their peculiar views than those who are called Evangelical churchmen. Nor is this all. I believe that at this moment no bishops and clergy in England have more influence in their respective dioceses and parishes than those who are thoroughly Evangelical in their doctrine, and consistent with their doctrine in their lives. Last, but not least, I go one step further still. I am persuaded that no religious teaching at this moment is doing so much real good in England, in awakening, convincing, and converting souls, as that old-fashioned despised teaching which we support who are called Evangelical. Other schools, no doubt, wear smarter uniforms, blow louder trumpets, carry more sail, and make much more show before men. Ours, I firmly believe, has the most of the favour and blessing of Almighty God.

And now let me conclude all with a few pieces of advice, which I

offer in all brotherly affection to all who hear me. Take them as coming from one who, through evil report and good report, for thirty-seven years has stuck to Evangelical churchmanship, and at the end of these thirty-seven years is not a bit ashamed.

(1) In the first place, I ask every one who hears this paper to read the Thirty-nine Articles regularly, at least once every year, and to make himself thoroughly familiar with their contents.

It is not a reading age, I fear. Newspapers and periodicals and shilling novels absorb the greater part of the time given to reading. I am sorry for it. If I could only reach the ear of all thinking lay churchmen, I should like to say, "Do read your Articles." As for clergymen, if I had my own way I would require them to read the Articles publicly in church once every year.

Ignorance, I am compelled once more to say, is one of the grand dangers of members of the Church of England. The bulk of her people neither know, nor understand, nor seem to care about the inside of any of the great religious questions of the day. Presbyterians know their system. Baptists, Independents, and Methodists know theirs. Papists are all trained controversialists. Churchmen alone, as a body, are too often profoundly ignorant of their own Church, and all its principles, doctrines, and history. Not one in twenty could tell you why he is a churchman.

Let us cast aside this reproach. Let all churchmen awake and rub their eyes, and begin to read up their own Church and its doctrines. And if any man wants to know where to begin, I advise him to begin with the Thirty-nine Articles. And if he wants some book to explain them, I advise him to read Boultbee's "Theology of the Church of England."

(2) In the second place, I ask all who hear this paper to teach the Thirty-nine Articles to all young people who are yet of an age to be taught. It is a burning shame that the Articles are not made an essential part of the system of every school connected with the Church of England, whether for high or low, for rich or poor.

I speak from experience. It is a simple fact, that the beginning of any clear doctrinal views I have ever attained myself, was reading up the Articles at Eton, for the Newcastle Scholarship, and attending a lecture at Christ Church, Oxford, on the Articles, by a college tutor. I shall always thank God for what I learned then. Before that time I really knew nothing systematically of Christianity. I knew not what came first or what last. I had a religion in my head without order. What I found good for myself I commend to others: *Experto crede.* If you love young people's souls, and would ground them, and stablish them, and arm them against error betimes, take care that you teach them, not only the Catechism, but also the Articles.

(3) In the third place, I advise all who hear this paper to test all churchmanship by the test of the Articles. Be not carried away by those who talk of "nice Church views," "Catholic principles," "Catholic ceremonies," "devoutness," "holy, earnest parish priests," "hard-working clergymen," "work," and the like.

As to *Catholic principles*, hear what the Bishop of Manchester, the most liberal Bishop on the Bench, said about them last January:—

"Year by year out of this undefined, ill-understood, misused word "Catholic, new and strange dogmas and usages are evolved. And the "plea is, that to some these things are 'a great comfort.' The same "plea might be urged for dram-drinking. Etymologically and truly, "that only *comforts* which *strengthens*. And I have seen nothing to "prove to me that the new school of 'Catholic teaching' is producing "men and women more imbued with the true spirit of Christianity, "which is the spirit of love and of power and of a sound mind, than "that old school of English churchmanship, in which I was trained, "and in which I hope to die."—(*Guardian*, Jan. 16, 1878.)

As to "*devoutness*," hear what the Bishop of Gloucester says:— "It is utterly irrelevant to bring forward the goodness and devotion "of the Catholic school. Thank God, there are very many good "and devoted Roman Catholics in this world: but their goodness and "devotion do not make their principles a whit different from what "they are, or render their doctrines in the faintest degree more "reconcilable with the teachings and principles of the Reformation." —(Charge. *Guardian*, Jan. 16, 1878).

As to *work*, I am afraid, in many *well-worked* parishes, as they are called, it means nothing more than feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, giving alms to the poor, keeping cottages clean, visiting schools, and administering the Sacrament to the sick and dying. Such "work," as it is called, is all very well in its way, takes up time, makes a man look busy, and quite satisfies many people. But is it the chief work for which a clergyman is ordained? Is he really meant to be little more than a relieving officer or a tutor, or sanitary inspector, or manager of schools? Is not his chief work to preach and teach Christ's Gospel? Does he do so? This is the first and foremost question; and to answer it you have a right to turn to the Bible and the Articles. Try all that clergymen preach and teach, by one simple measure,—Does it or does it not agree with the Articles? You have an undoubted right to do this, and no English clergyman has any right to object to your doing it. Say to him, if he does object, "You publicly read and subscribed to the Articles when you "accepted your cure of souls. Do you or do you not abide by your "subscription?"

This is the simple ground we want to take up in the various

Societies which,—amidst much abuse, obloquy, and opposition,—are labouring, like the Church Association, to maintain the Protestant character of the Church of England. We are not intolerant, whatever some may please to say. We do not want to persecute anybody for trifles, or to magnify petty differences, or to narrow the limits of our Church. But we object to the Popish Mass, the Popish Auricular Confession, and all that heap of Popish practices which so many are trying to introduce among us, to the infinite disgust of the laity and the infinite damage of the Church of England. We do want to maintain the great distinctive principles of the Church of England pure, whole, and undefiled, and to hand them down as such to our children *Nolumus leges ecclesiæ mutari.* And we do say that any one who holds preferment in the Church of England ought to be bound to obey the laws of the Church of England, so long as those laws are unrepealed, and that our Bishops ought to insist on his obedience. Repeal the Acts of Parliament called the 13th of Elizabeth, and 28th and 29th of Victoria, and get rid of the Thirty-nine Articles, and we will cease to oppose Ritualism, and will concede that a churchman may be anything or everything in opinion, and may even be a Papist. But so long as things are as they are, we say we have a right to demand that respect should be paid to the Articles.

(4) Finally, let me advise every churchman who values his soul never to be ashamed of the great leading doctrines which are so nobly set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles.

Never mind if people call you extreme, party-spirited, going too far, puritanical, ultra-Methodist, and the like. Ask them if they have ever read the first nineteen Articles of their own Church. Tell them, so long as you are a churchman, you will never be ashamed of holding Church doctrine, and that you know what Church doctrine is, if they do not.

Remember, above all, that nothing but clear, distinct views of doctrine—such views as you will find in the Articles—will ever give you peace while you live, and comfort when you die.

"Devoutness," and "earnestness," and "catholic" views, and "catholic" principles, and "catholic" ceremonies are fine, specious, high-sounding terms, and very beautiful to look at and talk about, when we are well, and happy, and prosperous. But when the stern realities of life break in upon us, and we are in trouble,—when the valley of death looms in sight, and the cold river must be crossed,—in seasons like those, we want something better than mere "earnest-"ness" and "catholic principles" to support our souls. Oh, no! it is cold comfort then, as our feet touch the chill waters, to be told, "Never mind! You hold catholic views, you have been baptized, "you have gone to the Lord's Supper constantly. Take comfort! All "is well!"—It will never, never do! *Non tali auxilio tempus eget.*

We want then to know and feel that God is our God, that Christ is our Christ, that we have the Spirit within us, that our sins are pardoned, that our souls are justified, that our hearts are changed, that our faith is genuine and real. "Catholic principles" and "catholic ceremonial" alone will not be enough then. Nothing, in short, will do in that solemn hour but clear, distinct doctrine, embraced by our inward man, and made our own by living faith. Doctrines such as those set forth in the Articles are the only doctrines which are life, and health, and strength, and peace. Never be ashamed of laying hold of them, maintaining them, making them your own personal property, and contending for them to the death. Be very sure that those doctrines are the religion of the Bible and of the Church of England!

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42nd Thousand.]

THE PRESENT ASPECT OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAW RELATIVE TO ECCLESIASTICAL OFFENCES.

By JAMES INSKIP, Esq.

Paper read at the Autumn Conference of the Church Association, held in the Athenæum Room, Derby, on the 5th and 6th November, 1878.

No person, whether friend or foe of the Church Association, will deny the practical importance of the subject allotted to me.

On all hands and amongst all parties, the state of the Ecclesiastical law of England is discussed,—some lamenting, and others rejoicing that as yet rebellious members of the clerical order persistently refuse submission, if not without inconvenience, at all events without efficient restraint. It is necessary that we should have a clear conception of the sphere and office of law. We cannot expect it to change the convictions of the human mind. Some of our friends have been mistaken when they have spoken of legal proceedings as entirely useless because Ritualism has not been suppressed by them. But when we understand the law as a rule of human action, and as furnishing the precepts by which man is to regulate his conduct, we see at once that it is necessary for the maintenance and well-being of every community and institution as well spiritual as secular. It has been well described as a *rule*, not a transient sudden order from a superior to or concerning a particular person or proceeding, but something permanent, uniform, and universal. It has also been called a rule to distinguish it from advice or counsel, which we are at liberty to follow or not as we see proper, and judge upon the reasonableness or unreasonableness of the thing advised; whereas our obedience to the law depends, not upon our approbation, but upon the will of the legislator. Counsel is only a matter of persuasion; law is a matter of injunction; counsel acts only upon the willing; law upon the unwilling also. Undoubtedly these are first principles, but they are attacked by the present attitude of the Ritualistic clergy as well as by the course of some Bishops who, as we shall presently see, have attempted to deprive the ecclesiastical law of its general and permanent character, and to make it dependent, if not for its directions, at least for its power, upon the will of a superior as exercised over those under his authority.

It is desirable further to remember the old division of human law into several parts: one, declaratory, whereby the rights to be observed and the wrongs to be eschewed are clearly defined and laid down; another, directory, whereby the subject is instructed and enjoined to observe those rights and to abstain from the commissson of the wrongs; and a third, remedial, whereby a method is appointed to recover a man's rights and redress the wrongs, or to enforce or promote the observance of the law's directions. I am anxious to secure a clear understanding upon this point, because after repeated explanations our opponents persist in stigmatizing the application of the law to their conduct as the exercise of persecution. Their assertion would carry weight if the law compelled them to retain positions and to discharge duties contrary to conscience; but the ecclesiastical law of England, so far as it affects the conduct of public worship, simply declares the lawful forms, rites and ceremonies, and requires obedience on the part of those who voluntarily become and as voluntarily remain clergy subject to such directions. It necessarily follows that a remedy must be prescribed for the breach of those directions, or there would be no method of recovering and asserting rights wrongfully withheld or invaded, or of vindicating the principles of righteousness and justice. "The law is a terror to evil-doers." It is a guide to those who accept its directions, and its repressive action affects only those who transgress its precepts.

We are to-day occupied with the consideration of the remedial office of the law. On former occasions we have discussed varying interpretations of Rubrics, but we may now say that there is no uncertainty in our Ecclesiastical law as a guide for those who are willing to follow its directions, and our present difficulties arise from an insufficient provision for its application as a remedial, restraining, or corrective power. The time was when this assertion would have met with question.

Some twelve or fifteen years since, the Romeward advances of a section of the clergy alarmed the English mind, and a cry arose that their innovations should be checked. The necessity of the day led to the formation of the Church Association, a society which was intended as a defensive force to meet and resist the combined attacks of the Ritualistic party who had previously organized their forces under the banner of the English Church Union. It is not necessary to discuss the propriety of a counter organization. No man desiring the maintenance of the Reformation can deny that there was a cause. He may condemn this or the other step in our proceedings, and may say that we have not done all that could have been done, but such contention assumes the truth of the position that combined effort was necessary.

What was our original work? The diffusion of information, the advising of parishioners and the presentment of proper cases for the exercise of the powers intrusted to the Bishops of the Church. But a difficulty met us at the threshold of the undertaking. The Bishops, with almost one consent, replied that they could only act within legal limits, that they were the administrators and not the makers of the law, and that the vestments and rites

newly introduced were alleged to fall within a literal compliance with rubrical directions. Remembering that such things had not been known in the Church of England since the completion of the Reformation, we might have expected the Bishops to throw the onus upon the innovators, and admonish them to desist from the changes until they were proved to be legal. But a more cautious policy prevailed. The Bishops consulted the most eminent counsel of the day, who advised that the sacrificial vestments and the concomitant ceremonies were not lawful in the Church of England. But of course the Ritualists did not accept this opinion, and in a short time the English Church Union obtained an opinion from other counsel to the effect that the vestments and some of the practices, although long obsolete, were not contrary to the written law. There was consequently a clear issue. It was obvious that if the Reformation was to be maintained, the novel proceedings of the Ritualists must be forbidden. The shorter course would have been to provide new legislation declaratory of the meaning of the rubrics as interpreted by the usage of centuries. But the rulers in the Church were indisposed to take the responsibility of that course, and the general feeling was that Parliament would be unwilling to enact a new law, even by way of exposition only, so long as the existing regulations had not been judicially construed.

Such was the origin of the prosecutions undertaken by our Association, and the test has shown that the position taken by Evangelical churchmen was correct. The proceedings against Mr. Mackonochie, Mr. Wix, and Mr. Purchas resulted in the judicial condemnation of nearly all the distinctive features of Ritualism, but the weary course of those cases showed too plainly that the changes which had simplified all forms of procedure applicable to the ordinary events and occurrences of life, were urgently required for the purpose of adapting the Ecclesiastical law to the necessities of the day. In fact, a benefit of clergy was enjoyed, not by virtue of any special enactment, but through the retention of cumbrous machinery and useless but expensive forms, so that the idea of a general application of the remedy appeared impracticable.

The law being expounded in accordance with the usage of the Reformed Church on the chief points in question, the Association naturally looked for obedience on the part of the ordinary clergy, or the vindication of the law by the Bishops. It was no part of the programme of a voluntary society to assume the functions of the duly appointed officers of the Church, nor, indeed, was it originally supposed that the clergy—the teachers of religion—would disobey constituted authority to which they had voluntarily vowed allegiance, or that the Bishops would discover such a course without taking decided measures for checking it. Unhappily, these events have happened; and while the subordinate clergy have, with increasing boldness, defied the law, the Bishops, on the other hand, although condemning hypothetical cases, have in too many dioceses acted as if no disloyalty had been proved, and have ordained, licensed, instituted, and even preferred clergy who are known as advocates of the most extreme views in a Romeward direction.

Meanwhile, the Ritualists, striving to shelter themselves from

moral obloquy by professions of conscientious scruples, disregarded the law, and obtained immunity by reason of the difficulties and expense which must be encountered by any person seeking its assistance. They at first defended their position on the ground that it was within the law, and the English Church Union instructed able counsel to argue in support of that view. If their arguments had prevailed, the decision of the Court would have been boastfully paraded; but the arguments failed, and the decision was derided. And although some of the leading Ritualists, in giving evidence before the Ritual Commissioners, professed to be awaiting a legal decision, their subsequent conduct interpreted this to mean that they were awaiting a decision in their own favour. Failing to obtain this, they protested against the constitution of the final Court of Appeal on the ground that it is a secular tribunal, and affected to despise the control of Parliament, while at the same time they rested for justification upon their own interpretation of a Rubric which, even if it bore such a meaning, appeals to the authority of Parliament alone as its foundation.

This state of things led to the feeling which culminated in the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act. Fresh from their constituencies, the members of the House of Commons gave expression to the public sentiment by enthusiastically adopting this measure in the first session of the new Parliament. The intention was that increased facilities should be given for securing public worship according to the law of the Church and realm. At the commencement of the discussion, indications were not wanting of an intention to oppose the Bill; but when this was found a hopeless task, the more astute tactics were adopted of rendering the remedy as ineffectual as possible. The edge of the instrument was to be taken off, and it will be seen that this object was to a great extent secured by the Ritualists. I stay for a moment to observe that the phenomenon of Protestant zeal which thus appeared in the year 1874 seems to have been attributable to the recent contact of representatives with their constituents, and that we sorely need a revival of the same healthy feeling. The Act did not affect the form of public worship or the directions for the guidance of the clergy, and it was intended for the exclusive purpose of facilitating the application of the law to cases of non-observance. All the efforts of Ritualistic legislators were directed to the rendering of this application difficult and uncertain. It is possible that the advantages to be conferred by the statute were exaggerated by sanguine expectations, stimulated by the spirit with which the Act was carried through Parliament on the one hand, and by the raging opposition and vehement language of the Ritualists on the other hand.

Unhappily those expectations have not been realized, and attention has been generally directed to the failures with perhaps an inadequate understanding of their cause. It may, therefore, be useful to present a short statement of all the prosecutions which have been instituted under the Public Worship Regulation Act.

The first class of cases comprises those which were allowed to proceed—

First case; against Mr. Ridsdale, known as Folkestone case (Canterbury diocese): instituted by three parishioners; involving twelve articles of charge.

As to eight charges, defendant submitted to conviction in Arches Court. Appealed on four points; on two, conviction sustained; on others reversed, evidence not fully proving offence. But in this case the law was definitively settled on twelve points, bringing up the number of practices condemned by the courts to fifty-nine.

Second case; against Mr. Dale, of St. Vedast (diocese, London): instituted by the churchwardens. After conviction, and inhibition, a technical defect was traced. The Bishop being patron, the proceedings, based on his action, were held to be void, and Mr. Dale was restored. (N.B. By the Act the Representation must be sent to the Bishop of the diocese, but where he is patron he is bound to pass it on to the Archbishop.)

Third case; against Mr. Tooth, St. James's, Hatcham (Rochester diocese): instituted by three parishioners. After conviction, inhibition, and imprisonment for contempt, technical defect traced and proceedings set aside; the case having been heard at Lambeth Palace, whereas statutory requisition from Archbishop to Judge, confined the place of hearing to London, Westminster, or the diocese of Rochester. The Act permits cases to be heard anywhere within the province, but in the form given by the rules and orders (signed by the Archbishops, the Lord Chancellor, and other dignitaries) the word "Province" is omitted.

Fourth case; against Mr. Bodington, of St. Andrew, Wolverhampton (Lichfield diocese): instituted by three parishioners. Bishop, being patron, sent representation to Archbishop, who transmitted it to Arches Court. The Act requires that copy of Representation be sent to party complained of within twenty-one days from day Representation is received by Bishop. Objection raised, that this provision had not been strictly complied with. Judge held that provision was imperative, and therefore suit could not proceed. Representation was received by Bishop on 30th August, but not forwarded to Archbishop until 15th September, leaving only four days in which to exercise his discretion whether case should proceed.

Fifth case; against Mr. Gardner, of St. Matthew's, Smethwick (Lichfield diocese): instituted by churchwarden. Though suit sanctioned by Bishop, documents not duly sent from Bishop's registry to party complained of, proceedings were objected to, and on preliminary hearing before Judge in chambers, objection prevailed.

Sixth case; against Mr. Dale. Patronage being vested in Archbishop and Bishop alternately, application made under Act to Home Secretary to obtain nomination under royal sign manual for substitution of another Bishop to deal with case. Complainants received communication from Home Secretary explaining that "he "had been endeavouring to find a Bishop whom he might submit to "Her Majesty for nomination, as willing and able to act for the "diocesan;" but on account of the shortness of time, it was suggested that complainants should abandon Representation sent in, and submit a fresh one in about three weeks, "in which it was

"hoped the services of a Bishop to act in the place of the diocesan "would be secured." Thus the provision as to delivery of copy of Representation to party complained of rendered the proceedings abortive.

Seventh case; against Mr. Gardner. In consequence of illness of Bishop, papers were forwarded to Archbishop, but before his Grace had disposed of them the Bishop died; and Archbishop returned Representation, intimating that as See of Lichfield was vacant, the Act did not empower him to take any steps in the case.

In all these cases the cause of failure is traceable either to official error or defective provisions in the Act or Rules.

I now come to the cases in which the Bishop refused to send Representations for trial:—

First case; against Mr. Randall, of All Saints', Clifton (Gloucester and Bristol diocese). Several complaints made to Bishop by inhabitants of parish in respect of illegal practices, but the Bishop intimated that he could not act without formal proceedings. In October, 1876, three parishioners sent in Representation, but the Bishop declined to send on case, assigning "Reasons"—to effect, that some of the charges were analogous to those in Folkestone case, in which an appeal to Privy Council was expected, and if no appeal, complainants could submit another Representation.

Second case; against Mr. Bodington, of St. Andrew, Wolverhampton (Lichfield diocese). After decision in Folkestone case, Representation sent in by a churchwarden, containing twelve charges in respect of practices already condemned in the courts. Archbishop declined to send on case, assigning "Reasons"—to effect, that Bishop should be called on under general Episcopal powers, to "take order for the appeasing of diversity and the resolution of "doubts," as regards the conduct of divine service in the Church.

Third case; against Mr. Chapman, of Donhead, St. Andrew (diocese, Salisbury). On complaints made of illegal practices, Bishop offered to act as arbitrator, and such offer was accepted by those complaining, but declined by Mr. Chapman. Representation presented, but Bishop declined to send on case, assigning "Reasons"—to effect, first, that Mr. Chapman denied illegality of conduct, as to four of the charges; second, that though two of offences charged, confessedly illegal, were admitted, Bishop considered it more desirable to endeavour gradually to secure accordance of all usages of parish with letter of the law by peaceful and fatherly methods than by litigation; third, that a perfectly plain celebration of the Holy Communion is held once in every month.

Fourth case; against Mr. Bodington. Representation was accompanied (under advice of counsel) with memorial to Archbishop, stating, that owing to a letter from Bishop to Mr. Bodington, the latter had offered to provide a plain celebration of the Lord's Supper one Sunday in month, but that at other times services complained of would be continued. Archbishop declined to send on case assigning "Reasons"—to effect, that the presentment to Bishop suggested by him in the former case had not been made.

Fifth case; against Mr. Glover, of Christ Church, Wolverhampton: instituted by three parishioners, in respect of practices

already condemned in the Courts, Archbishop declined to send on case, assigning "Reasons"—to effect, that Mr. Glover professed loyalty to Bishop, and suggesting presentment as in the case of Mr. Bodington.

Sixth case; against Canon Carter, of Clewer (Oxford diocese): instituted by three parishioners, in respect of practices already condemned in the courts. Bishop declined to send on case—assigning "Reason"—to effect, that a guarantee had been given for expenses to be incurred in the suit by persons who were not parishioners.

Seventh case; against Mr. Barrett, of St. George, Barrow-in-Furness (Carlisle diocese): instituted by three parishioners in respect of practices condemned in the courts. Bishop declined to send on case, assigning "Reasons"—to effect, that on former complaints made, unlawful conduct had on his injunction been abandoned, and therefore he believed that other unlawful things would also be abandoned without litigation; further, that some of the charges were in his opinion too frivolous to be brought into court; lastly, that his refusal would enable him to deal with matters complained of in a more satisfactory manner than by litigation.

Considering these "Reasons," it must be manifest that the Bishops hold the statutory discretion vested in them to be equivalent to an absolute veto; while, on the other hand, it is asserted that the Reasons given in pursuance of the Statute ought to be revised by the High Court of Justice.

This important question would have been tested in one or more of the cases had not a technical difficulty interposed. It is a fixed rule that the writ of mandamus will not be granted where the direction given in the order would be illusory. To raise the question of the validity of the Bishop's reasons, and obtain judgment, would occupy far more than twenty-one days, and therefore even were it clear that the court would review, and that the reasons were invalid, no direction to the Bishop could be obtained in time to secure service of the Representation within twenty-one days from receipt thereof by the Bishop;—a limit of time within which, it has been held by the Dean of the Arches, the service must be effected to give jurisdiction in any suit under the Act. Thus, on an application for a *mandamus*, the applicant would be met with this preliminary objection, excluding any discussion on the merits.

Let us, however, as a matter of public interest, examine the nature of the reasons given by the Bishops in some of the foregoing cases, taking as our guide one legal principle, as applied to cases where discretionary powers have been delegated by the Legislature: viz., "the discretion must be exercised in the spirit of the Act; "according to the rules of reason, law, and justice, and not governed "by private opinion."

The reasons in Mr. Bodington's case (No. 2) show an attempt to supplant the proceedings prescribed by the Legislature and to substitute an appeal to the discretion of the Bishop under an old Rubric. But the assumption that the Bishop has power in such a case is believed to be an erroneous view of the law. It has already been decided that the old Rubric does not enable the Bishop to

interfere with the obligation of a clergyman to observe the directions of the law.

The reasons in Mr. Chapman's case (No. 3) are strangely inconsistent with the due administration of the law. First: the person charged with an offence denies the illegality of his acts; therefore the issue must not be tried in a court of law. Second: the Bishop selects himself as judge in lieu of the tribunal established by the statute. Third: because once in each month there is a legal service; therefore at all other times illegalities are condoned.

The reasons in the second case against Mr. Bodington (No. 4) renew the direction for procedure before the Bishop, in substitution for the duly constituted legal tribunal; but with this aggravation, that the Archbishop had been informed of the facts, apparently showing that the Bishop had, in effect, already agreed with the accused on a compromise involving a continuance of the illegal practices.

The reasons in Mr. Glover's case (No. 5) involve the acceptance of a profession of loyalty to the Bishop by the alleged offender as a reason for staying access to the Court of Arches.

The reason in Canon Carter's case (No. 6) raises a distinct legal issue. It is notorious that before the Church Association was called into existence, a society had been established which supports offenders in resisting Episcopal authority, as well as the judgments of the courts of law. Yet, on the allegation that third parties had undertaken to aid complaining parishioners with a contribution for expenses, the Bishop seeks to prevent recourse to the court for the suppression of illegal practices.

The reasons in Mr. Barrett's case (No. 7) involve the assumption that the party complaned of will obey an Episcopal direction to observe the law. Strange assumption, remembering that Episcopal influence had been inoperative prior to Representation sent in. If the Bishop had protested, and failed to secure submission, the reason is illusory. If he had not protested, of what value is Episcopal supervision? A test of this Bishop's own view of obedience to the law is to be found in the reason alleging that some of the matters complained of are too frivolous to be brought into a court. Perhaps some of the charges standing alone would not be of sufficient importance to raise a suit; but the charges comprise the wearing of unlawful vestments, and the worst features of the Ritualistic development. Marvellous astuteness to minimize offences, and strangely one-sided views seem to possess those who claim an absolute power of excluding the laity from access to the legal tribunal lately constituted by the Legislature. On this important question it will be enough here to refer to the language used in the *Quarterly Review* when commenting on the Act as passed—"Though "much has been intrusted to the discretion of Ecclesiastical officers, "neither Archdeacons nor Bishops will be permitted to render it "nugatory. If they exhibit a firm determination to repress the "practices which provoked the legislation of last year, they will be "sustained in their desire to permit considerable elasticity in minor "matters; but if they show an inclination to shield alike all devia-"tions from the law, whether superstitious or indifferent, they will

"simply succeed in provoking a movement to deprive them of the "discretion they now enjoy."

It will thus be seen that the majority of the cases have simply been stopped by the Bishops; and it is apparent that if Parliament was justified in passing the Act, the possibility of such action ought not to continue. The proceeding in those cases has been equivalent to pronouncing judgment without hearing the arguments of the respective parties, and at the immense disadvantage of being left to consider all the circumstances without well-defined limits within which the discretion should be exercised. The failures in cases allowed by the Bishops may be traced to a few causes. The requirement that the Representation must be served upon the defendant within twenty-one days after receipt thereof by the Bishop has operated to defeat some of the proceedings, and it is not easy to understand what virtue is to be found in this particular limitation of time. If, as in other proceedings, the complaining party were left to serve his own process, it would be reasonable to give him a short period within which to effect the service; but as long as the service is intrusted to the Bishop, a complainant, having no power over the proceedings, ought not to be prejudiced by irregularity or default on the part of the diocesan officers.

One case was defeated by the unnecessary difficulty in obtaining an Episcopal substitute where the Archbishop is patron of the living occupied by the defendant clergyman: the duty of acting as deputy does not rest upon any particular person, and Bishops as well as other people are not anxious to volunteer for unpleasant work.

These observations may suffice to show that with a few amendments the Act might be rendered more efficient. I cannot say whether or not I am expected to offer any observations upon such amendments; but they seem fairly to fall within a consideration of the present aspect of the administration of the law, and I venture to notice the following as some of the points to which attention may be directed:—

1. If the Bishops are to retain and exercise a preliminary discretion, it ought to be exercised by them upon a consideration of the plaintiff's Representation and the defendant's Answer, both of which might be verified by oath or statutory declaration. It would seem reasonable to require that the Representation should be answered, or that in default of an answer within a limited period—say, fourteen or twenty-one days from service, the defendant should be deemed to have admitted the truth of the charges.

2. If no answer is given, either denying the charges or showing why the cause should not be proceeded with, then the Bishop should state his opinion, and if he objects to the case proceeding should give his reason for such objection, it being clearly understood that he is not entitled to interpose reasons which conflict with the right of every Englishman to have the services of the Established Church conducted according to the Book of Common Prayer. In fact, I would sweep away all this cumbrous machinery, and give to every parishioner the right of proceeding, not to punish the clergyman, but to secure a performance of his duty. It is to me incomprehensible that a clergyman above all other parties should be encouraged

to disregard obligations which he has solemnly undertaken. We might as well abolish all Acts of Uniformity and allow every man to be a law unto himself, unless we are prepared to alter the present state of things.

3. If a case proceeds, whether without the Bishop's interference or with his sanction, a hearing might be appointed in the simple way which is adopted in other proceedings, and with little delay or expense the suit might be heard. In fact, if the law were applied and administered with thorough efficiency, the number of suits would be few, as the clergy would be unable to resist it. Every lawyer knows that uncertainty and technical difficulties encourage litigation and resistance to lawful authority.

4. The mode of giving security for costs and the place of hearing should be left to the discretion of the judge, and the possibility of such discreditable proceedings as have been witnessed in Mr. Tooth's case would then be excluded.

5. In like manner the duty of acting for the Archbishop where he is patron of the living affected by the complaint ought to devolve upon a particular person, instead of being left in uncertainty until a Bishop can be found who will voluntarily undertake the office. It has been suggested that when the Archbishop cannot act, the senior Bishop of the province might be named as the substitute. It is unsatisfactory that a Bishop or Archbishop should be disqualified by the patronage of a living. They are, and ought to be regarded as trustees in the matter of exercising their patronage as well as in other respects, and the idea of the prospective vacancy influencing a Bishop to sanction proceedings ought not to be entertained.

But at the present moment the most important point is the provision for enforcing obedience after judgment. The Public Worship Regulation Act was intended to be clear upon this point; but its provisions are probably insufficient, and I see no reason why a clergyman convicted of transgressing the law should not be deprived of his position, unless within a reasonable period he undertakes to conform, and fulfils his undertaking. The argument that in such a matter, the court is not to enforce its sentence without a new suit, ought to be negatived in clear and decided terms. If any court, in dealing with a layman, found its powers insufficient to enforce obedience, the Legislature would swiftly interpose; and practical immunity for a clergyman, who obtained his office by virtue of a solemn compact, is discreditable not only to the law but also to religion.

Some of our friends speak as if they fear the general application of the law. Such fear is not in my opinion well founded. The most astute Ritualists have failed to point out any evangelical defect involving a question of doctrine or principle, and the evangelical clergy may safely accept the most free and general application of the law. If this view were too sanguine, justice must still be even-handed, and we should gain nothing by concealing the truth. Let us know our position, and if the evangelical clergy have failed in any respect, let us know it. A cautious and timid policy, dictated by the desire for peace in our day, will bring no good result.

Upon this question of enforcing obedience I have hitherto referred only to complaints under the recent statute, but a few words are necessary in reference to proceedings instituted under the Church Discipline Act. A suit was instituted against Mr. Mackonochie for illegal practices. He was found guilty and admonished not to offend again. He treated the judgment and monition with contempt, and, his conduct being brought before the court, he was suspended for three years on account of wilful and persistent disobedience to the monition. This proceeding was in conformity with a precedent of the Judicial Committee, or in other words, of Her Majesty in Council, as the supreme head in causes ecclesiastical. The Lord Chief Justice and another Judge have ruled, in opposition to Justice Lush, that the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice has power to prohibit the proceedings, even though based on the authority of the Privy Council, because the Court of Arches cannot recognize an offence after judgment unless a new suit be instituted. This cuts at the root of the practice under which Ecclesiastial Courts have issued monitions for offending clergy not to repeat their offence. Lord Penzance has given reasons for dissenting from the view of the Lord Chief Justice; but the case is under appeal, and I could not with propriety discuss the question. Our friends must, however, understand that it relates exclusively to the mode of enforcing obedience, and does not touch the obligation of the clergy in any way. The Ritualists have set aside several proceedings, but all by virtue of technical objections, urged to prevent punishment or restraint, and not touching the moral responsibilities of the resisting parties.

In bygone days convicted prisoners escaped punishment through flaws in indictments or other proceedings, but the liberated men were not morally rehabilitated, and the legislature closed one loophole after another until the escape of a convict upon any legal objection is now a rare occurrence. So must it be with ecclesiastical offenders, if the Established Church is to remain as an institution of the country. And we, concluding that the present aspect of the administration of the law relating to ecclesiatical offences is extremely unsatisfactory, while the administration of the law relating to other matters is satisfactory, must ask that a change be made with a view to bringing ecclesiastical procedure into conformity with the general law of the land.

There is, however, one power which I must not omit to notice, namely, that entrusted to the Bishops, who cannot be compelled to license, or even to ordain clergy who transgress the law, and who might withdraw many licenses without trouble or expense. This is illustrated by the case of St. Raphael's Church, in the Diocese of Gloucester and Bristol. But this power has not been exercised by the Bishops generally, as if they realized the vastness of their responsibility.

Meanwhile, Protestant churchmen must not retreat. There are great difficulties. Far be it from me to underrate them; but from the beginning until the present time truth has always met error upon these terms. Were there no difficulties when a few simple men began to proclaim Jesus and the Resurrection in the face of an

unbelieving world? Was there no hindrance when John Wycliffe circulated the Scriptures, or when Martin Luther defied the powers of Rome, or when Cranmer yielded to combined threatenings and promises, or when he afterwards accompanied his companions to the martyr's death? Were there no difficulties when a few Evangelical men, who could be counted on the fingers, were the means employed by God to re-kindle a flame of Gospel light which has given unnumbered blessings to this generation? And shall we expect to be conquerors without a contest? It may be that we have too lightly esteemed the solemn responsibility which rests upon us. If the Reformation was needed, and we know it was, then duty to God, our country, and our children, demands that we should not fold our hands. We appeal to the law in the spirit enunciated at the commencement of this paper, for the purpose of showing the principles of our Established Church, and we claim a simple and efficient remedy for the wrong-doing of clergy as well as laity. But we look beyond law for the life of the Church—"not by might, nor by power, but by my "spirit, saith the Lord." Nevertheless we must not suffer false teaching. We must resist it to the utmost lest we incur the censure pronounced upon the Church of Thyatira. And if we suppose that difficulties afford a reason for retiring from the contest, I venture to submit that we are wrong, entirely wrong. The example of the Ritualists may show us what can be done under the greatest difficulties. And it must not be said that we, with the better cause, were the first to faint under discouragements. But I appeal to the higher authority of God's word. "Curse ye Meroz" was the dread sentence, and why? Because it came not "to the help of the Lord "against the mighty." Against the mighty, be it observed. Let us, then be careful lest such a sentence be pronounced against our Church and country; and while I would earnestly ask our representatives on the Council to lead us, to be decided in their action, to expose and resist Ritualism wherever an opportunity occurs, and laying aside all timid counsels to be ready for any course (whether public agitation, parliamentary action or proceedings, or a policy of revision) which may be necessary for the maintenance of the Gospel in our midst, I would on the other hand implore every Protestant churchman to rally in support of the Association, and, by prayer, money, personal influence, and, if needful, self-sacrifice, to give his aid. Let it not be said that one of us has failed to do something against this mighty foe. The evil to be averted is great, the blessings to be preserved are precious. And if we are now enabled to say in faith, we shall hereafter prove in victory, that "greater is He "that is for us than they that are against us."

To be obtained at the Office of the Church Association, 14, Buckingham Street, Strand, London.
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10th Thousand.]

EVANGELICAL CHURCHMEN TRUE CHURCHMEN.

By the REV. JOSEPH BARDSLEY, M.A.,
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Paper read at the Autumn Conference of the Church Association, held in the Athenæum Room, Derby, on the 5th and 6th November, 1878.

Whatever may be said of the present position of Evangelical churchmen, it is generally admitted that they have rendered very important services to the Church of England during the last hundred years. It is undeniable that within about forty or fifty years subsequent to the ejectment of the 2,000 ministers from the Church of England in 1662, by the passing of the disastrous Act of Uniformity, spiritual religion was reduced to the most deplorable condition. One of the prevailing characteristics of the first half of the eighteenth century was the neglect of public worship; and previous to the revival of religion, which took place during the latter part of that century and the beginning of the present, the Church of England was rapidly losing her hold upon the nation.

The chief cause of this sad condition of affairs in our Church was declared at the time by Archbishop Secker to be the absence of Evangelical teaching. He wrote as follows, in 1740:—

"We have in fact lost many of our people to sectaries, by not "preaching in a manner sufficiently Evangelical; and we shall "neither recover them from the extravagancies into which they "have run, nor keep more from going over to them, but by return-"ing to the right way."* We may form some idea of the losses which had been sustained by the Church when Nonconformists, at the beginning of the present century, thought themselves to be in a position to declare that "some consideration at least is due to the "assertion which has been made, that there are more professors of

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* Overton's "True Churchmen."

"religion out of the Established Church than within its pale."* But even assuming with the Nonconformist historians, who make this statement, that "the increase" of the Dissenters and Methodists "has been exaggerated beyond the reality," still it is made evident, by the religious census of 1851, that the Established Church during the first half of this century had more than maintained its relative strength. Taking the figures as furnished in the official report of Mr. Horace Mann, and applying to these figures his own rules given in a paper read before the Statistical Society, for the purpose of ascertaining from the number present at different places of worship on the Census Sunday, the comparative number of the worshipping population belonging respectively to the Church of England and Nonconformists, we have the following result,—the Established Church had, in 1851, 42 per cent. of the entire population, Nonconformists had 28, and the Roman Catholics had 5 per cent. Archbishop Secker declared, in 1740, that our Church had lost many of her people because the clergy had "not preached in a "manner sufficiently Evangelical;" and that we should not "keep "more from going over to" Dissenters, "but by returning to the right "way." This two-fold statement is undoubtedly in harmony with facts. In proportion to the absence of Evangelical teaching the Church lost ground, and in proportion to its revival the position of the Church was strengthened. These facts are undeniable whether we regard them as *consequences* or mere *coincidences.* The following statement by the late Dr. Robert Vaughan, an eminent minister and trusted leader among the Independents, more than justifies all that we assert as to the beneficial effects of the Evangelical revival. He says,—"There is one fact bearing upon our future as Nonconformists "which we cannot too carefully bear in mind. Some forty years "ago, the pious Episcopalian who felt the want of an Evangelical "ministry, had to go, for the most part, to the Dissenting chapel in "search of it. We had large accessions to our places of worship "from that circumstance. That state of things has passed away. ". . . . . The revival of religion in the Church of England during "the last half century has been a significant fact in our history. "But for that, by this time three-fourths of the people of England "would have been Nonconformists. The Evangelical clergy of "England, upon whom the Rationalists on one flank and the "Romanizers on the other are pouring so much scorn, have saved "the Church of England thus far. But, then, at what cost have "they done it? Their principles as Evangelical clergymen—the "very principles held by the Puritan clergymen of 1662—oblige us "to look with painful feeling upon the assent and consent they "profess to give." This statement occurs in a pamphlet published in 1861, entitled "The Case of the Ejected Ministers of 1662." I will shortly return to the last lines of this quotation, because of their bearing upon our subject; but before doing so, I will add

* "History of Dissenters," by Bogue and Bennett, Vol. IV, p. 341.

the testimony of two impartial witnesses to the valuable services rendered to our Church by the Evangelical clergy. The late Sir James Stephens, in his Essay on the "Evangelical Succession," wrote thus:—"But after every allowance shall have been made for "these sources of error, enough will remain to convince any impar- "tial inquirer, that the first generation of the clergy designated as "'Evangelical,' were the second founders of the Church of England "—that if not entitled to the praise of genius, of eloquence, or of "profound learning, they were devout, sincere, and genuine men— "that the doctrines of the New Testament were to them a reality, "and the English liturgy a truth—that their public ministrations "and their real meaning were in exact coincidence—that they rose "as much above the Hoadleian formality as above the *Marian* super- "stition—that they revived amongst us the spirit of Paul and of "Peter, of Augustine and Boniface, of Wicliff and Ridley, of "Baxter and Howe—that they burned with a loyal and enlightened "zeal for the kingdom of Christ, and for those eternal verities on "which that kingdom is founded—that their personal sanctity rose "to the same elevation as their theological opinions—and that in all "these respects they formed a contrast, as cheering in one light as "it was melancholy in another, to the spirit which, in that age, "characterized their clerical brethren."* Lecky, in his recently published work on the "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," whilst, from his point of view, laying many evils at the door of the Evangelical party,—such as being the bitterest opponents of the attempt that was made in 1778 to relieve the clergy from the subscription to the Articles—resisting the opening of public museums and galleries—nevertheless bears the highest testimony to the change wrought by the labours of the Evangelical clergy. After enumerating some of their leaders, he says:—"With much narrowness and fana- "ticism of judgment, with little range of learning, and no high order "of intellectual power, all these possessed, in an eminent degree, the "qualities of heart and mind that influence great masses of men; "and they and their colleagues gradually changed the whole spirit "of the English Church. They infused into it a new fire and passion "of devotion, kindled a spirit of fervent philanthropy, raised up the "standard of clerical duty, and completely altered the whole tone "and tendency of the preaching of its ministers. Before the close "of the century the Evangelical movement had become dominant in "England, and it continued the almost undisputed centre of reli- "gious life till the rise of the Tractarian movement in 1830."†

He says again:—"The Evangelical movement, which directly or "indirectly originated with Wesley, produced a general revival of "religious feeling, which has incalculably increased the efficiency of "almost every religious body in the community, while at the same "time it has not seriously affected party politics."‡

But it will be said in reply, even granting all that has been alleged

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* "Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography," Edition 1875, p. 445.
† Vol II, p. 627. ‡ Vol. II, p. 634.

on this point to be founded on fact, it does not prove that "Evangelical "churchmen are true churchmen." Indeed, Dr. Vaughan, in the passage already quoted, whilst declaring that the Evangelical clergy "have saved the Church of England thus far," adds, "but, then, at "what cost have they done it? Their principles as Evangelical "clergymen—the very principles held by the Puritan clergymen of "1662—oblige us to look with painful feeling upon the assent and "consent they profess to give." Dr. Vaughan's pamphlet consists of the speech which he delivered at the Congregational Union in 1861, in moving the resolution which recommended the Bicentenary Commemoration in the following year. The argument which underlies Dr. Vaughan's reasoning, constituted the foundation of all the reflections which were made upon the honesty and consistency of the Evangelical clergy during the agitation throughout 1862.

These men, it was said, could not honestly subscribe the Prayer Book; the Evangelical clergy hold their views, and, therefore, they are dishonest in doing what the ejected of 1662 could not do. This would be very logical reasoning were it founded upon facts; but the premises are erroneous, and so consequently is the conclusion based upon them. The ejected ministers of 1662 were, for the most part, Presbyterians and Independents; the Evangelical clergy are Episcopalians; most of the ejected of 1662 were required, if they remained in the Church, to be re-ordained by our Bishops; and we know that this was the chief reason why Howe and others refused to conform: the Evangelical clergy have received such ordination.

The ejected of 1662 had subscribed the Westminster Confession; the Evangelical clergy conscientiously subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Book of Common Prayer; the ejected of 1662 were required to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, the Evangelical clergy have never subscribed it. It would be easy to add much more on this head: but the following quotations from acknowledged Dissenting authorities will show how utterly destitute of foundation is the supposed parallel between the two. The Dissenting historian, Orme, speaking of the requirements of the Act of Uniformity, says:—

"The conditions were so framed, that, independently of religious "considerations, it was impossible that men of principle, who had "taken an active part in the former changes, or who had approved "of those changes, could submit to them. They extended to some "things by an almost wanton stretch of authority, and involved a "total departure from all just views of civil liberty, the cause of "which must be regarded as virtually abandoned by those who sub-"mitted to them."—(*Orme's Life of Baxter*, p. 231.)

I will only add a second authority, quoted by the respected Independent Minister and historian, Dr. Stoughton, which shows that the statement is not true—viz., that all these 2000 ministers, or even the great majority of them, left the Church of England because they could not conscientiously subscribe the Prayer Book. The authority quoted by Dr. Stoughton is William Hook, who lived at the time, and thus expressed himself:—

"Yet some of the ministers have suffered as refusers of the "abjuration of the Covenant, and as non-assenters and consenters "to the present Liturgy. Had not the Covenant pinched them, "very many of them would not have stuck at submitting to the "Common Prayer, as is generally believed."

The *Christian Spectator*—a Nonconformist periodical—in its April number for 1862, felt it necessary to caution Dissenters—

"To be careful and precise in statements descriptive of the grounds of Nonconformity in 1862."

Adding—

"We have reason to think that some curious letters from America "which will appear in Mr. Stoughton's forthcoming volume on "'Church and State Two Hundred Years Ago,' will prove that *the* "*more general* occasion of Nonconformity among the Presbyterians "was in their objection to abjure the oath of the *Covenant*, which "abjuration was required by the Act of Uniformity."

It will thus be seen that one reason why some of these men left the Church was because they would not submit to be re-ordained; but the chief cause why the majority did so was because they were required to abjure the Solemn League and Covenant.

By the Act of Uniformity of 1662 they were required as a condition of retaining their livings to declare in respect to their oath to the Covenant "*that the same was in itself an unlawful Oath, and* "*imposed upon the subjects of this Realm against the known laws and* "*liberties of this kingdom.*" As honest men they could not swear one thing in 1644 and then abjure the same oath in 1662; and therefore rather than do it they gave up their livings.

I do not say that these men did not seek to obtain changes in the Book of Common Prayer: I do not say that *some* of these men did not give up their livings rather than subscribe to the Prayer Book; but I do say that *the vast majority* of them would have remained in the Church if the only thing required of them had been subscription to the Prayer Book. Having regard to these facts I have always felt profoundly astonished at the persistent way in which some Nonconformists have argued on the assumption of an almost identical parallel between the position of the ejected ministers of 1662 and the Evangelical clergy of the present day; when, as a matter of fact, the two positions are so widely different.

I.—Views of the Reformers.

In support of the assertion that Evangelical churchmen are true churchmen, we allege—That in regard to the doctrines designated "Evangelical," there exists an essential agreement between the Reformers who compiled our Liturgy and Articles and the Evangelical clergy. These are the men with whose position and sentiments it is most natural to compare the views and position of the Evangelical clergy; and by this comparison to judge their loyalty.

Who, then, gave us, to use the words of Dr. Vaughan, "that "Baptismal Service, that Absolution Service, that Burial Service, that "Church Catechism?" We answer that, except the last part of the

Catechism, they were all compiled by the Reformers of 1552 and 1562. Surely, if any comparison is to be made, it should be—not between the Evangelical clergy of our day and the ejected ministers of 1662—but between the Evangelical clergy and those Reformers who compiled the formularies which we are required to subscribe. Here is just ground for instituting a comparison. What, then, were the theological sentiments of the men who gave us the chief part of our Prayer Book and drew up the Articles which were finally agreed upon in 1562, "for the avoiding of Diversities of Opinions, "and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion?" Our answer to these questions is, that these men firmly maintained the doctrines which are held by the Evangelical clergy of the present day. This is our contention; and in support of this position I will adduce authorities which, I think, will be deemed worthy of consideration.

1. I will begin with the candid statement of the Rev. W. Maskell, chaplain to the late Bishop of Exeter. He was regarded, at the time of the Gorham Controversy, before he went over to the Church of Rome, as a learned High churchman. Being led by circumstances to reconsider some of the questions at issue between High churchmen and Evangelical churchmen, he wrote thus:—

"Whatever my opinion may have been some time ago, it is impos-
"sible for me to conceal from myself that further inquiry has
"convinced me that the real spirit and intention of the Reformed
"Church of England are shown and carried out and taught by the
"Low Church party, as truly as by ourselves; I cannot bring myself
"to say rather than ourselves, but at least they have amply sufficient
"argument to oblige us to the acknowledgment that the very
"utmost which we can claim for our opinions is, that they are open
"to us."

He tells us also the chief reason which produced this change of opinion. He says:—

"I was not prepared to learn, as I have learnt, that, perhaps
"with about two exceptions, all the divines, Bishops and Archbishops,
"doctors and professors, of the Elizabethan age—the age, be it
"remembered, of the present Common Prayer Book in its chief
"particulars, and of the Book of Homilies, and of the Thirty-nine
"Articles—held and taught doctrines inconsistent (I write advisedly)
"with the true doctrine of baptism."

2. To the same effect is the following passage from the pen of Dr. Heylin, the friend and biographer of Archbishop Laud. He wrote thus:—"It cannot be denied, but that, by the error of these
"times, the reputation which Calvin had attained to in both Uni-
"versities, and the extreme diligence of his followers, ... there
"was a general tendency unto his opinions; . . . . his Book of
"Institutes being for the most part the foundation on which the
"young divines of those times did build their studies." Then, referring to the University of Oxford, he says:—"Of any men
"who publicly opposed the Calvinian tenets in this University till
"after the beginning of King James' reign, I must confess that I

"have hitherto found no good assurance."* He declares that after the most careful investigation, he could only find two divines who during this period maintained other principles, and these he compares to the apparently isolated position of the Prophet Elijah in the days of King Ahab. Such are the frank acknowledgments of two eminent High Churchmen, one belonging to the nineteenth and the other to the seventeenth century.

3. As latterly the consistency of the Evangelical clergy has often been assailed by our Nonconformist brethren, my third and fourth testimonies shall be those of the eminent Nonconformists, Robert Hall and Richard Baxter.

The biographer of Robert Hall tells us that this "most distinguished of the Calvinistic Dissenters" wrote an elaborate critique in defence of the Evangelical clergy. My references are to the edition of 1858. At page 293, Vol. II, he tells us of clergymen, subsequent to the Restoration, who supplanted "the doctrines "of the Reformation" by "copious and elaborate disquisitions on "points of morality," and who were succeeded by others who "improved upon their pattern by consigning the Articles of the Church "to still more perfect oblivion, by losing sight still more entirely of "the peculiarities of the Gospel." At page 394, speaking of Whitfield and Wesley, he says: "Nothing was farther from the views of "these excellent men than to innovate in the established religion "of their country; their sole aim was to recall the people to the good "old way, and to imprint the doctrine of the Articles and Homilies "on the spirits of men." At page 297, he fully describes the principles of the Evangelical clergy, and then, in the next page he writes thus: "Are the clergy styled Evangelical to be blamed for preaching "these doctrines? Before this can be allowed, the Articles must be "cancelled by the same authority by which they were established," &c.

4. Richard Baxter wrote a book in 1659, but two years before the final revision of the Prayer Book, entitled "Five Disputations of "Church Government and Worship." In the preface, addressed to "those that adhere to Prelacy," he writes:—"You must needs "know that the Divines called Episcopal in England, are of two "sorts, that very much differ from one another: And therefore supposing you to be the followers of these differing Divines, I shall "accordingly further speak to you as you are.

"I. The Bishops of England, and their followers from the first "Reformation, begun by King Edward the First, and revived by "Queen Elizabeth, were sound in Doctrine, adhering to the Augustinian Method, expressed now in the Articles and Homilies: They "differed not in any considerable points from those whom they called "Puritans: but it was in the form of Government, and Liturgy, and "Ceremonies that the difference lay.

"II. But of late years a new strain of Bishops were introduced, "differing much from the old, and yet pretending to adhere to the "Articles and Homilies, and to be Fathers of the same Church of

* Overton's "True Churchmen," p. 82.

" England as the rest. I know of none before Bishop Mountague " of their way, and but few that followed him, till many years after."

We have, in the passages I have cited, the testimony of two learned High churchmen, and two equally distinguished Nonconformists, all giving the most unqualified support in favour of the very important position for which we contend—viz., that the framers of the Liturgy, in its chief particulars, the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Homilies, were men who held all the doctrines which constitute the distinguishing characteristics of Evangelical Churchmen. If this position can unassailable, it surely goes a long way towards proving that "Evangelical churchmen are true churchmen," as it is hardly conceivable that men who firmly held Evangelical truth, would frame formularies which Evangelical men could not honestly subscribe. An overwhelming amount of evidence may be produced to show that the position which we have been endeavouring to establish is impregnable. To the testimonies already cited I will add a few facts and authorities.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the value of some statements of Bishop Burnet which are found in his work on the Articles. It is evident from the Preface that he was in sympathy with the *Arminian* rather than the Calvinistic school of theology; yet in his exposition of the 17th Article he frankly acknowledges that the early Reformers were generally Calvinists; and whilst he contends that Arminians may with a good conscience subscribe this Article, he says, "On the other " hand, the Calvinists have less occasion for scruple; since the Article " does seem more plainly to favour them." If we bear these admissions in mind, and remember his own views, and the further fact, that he wrote his work at the request of Archbishop Tillotson, we have the strongest presumptive evidence that the framers of the Articles were men who held Calvinistic opinions. But the same men who gave us the Articles, gave us also the Liturgy—at least, if not the Liturgy as it now stands, those *very portions* which, it is sometimes contended, Evangelical clergymen must find it difficult to subscribe. I do not for a moment intend to suggest that because the framers of the Articles were Calvinists, therefore none but Calvinists can honestly subscribe these Articles; but only that it is obvious that if they were Calvinists, they must have been men holding what are called "Evangelical" doctrines: for though all Evangelicals are not Calvinists, all Calvinists must be Evangelical. The following passage of Bishop Burnet, which occurs in the Preface to his work on the Articles, deserves special consideration:—" The first, and indeed the much best writer of Queen Eliza- " beth's time, was Bishop Jewel—who had so great a share in all " that was done then, particularly in compiling the second Book of " Homilies, that I had great reason to look on his works as a very " sure commentary on our Articles, as far as they led me. From " him I carried down my search through Reynolds, Humphreys, " Whitaker, and the other great men of that time." Are Ritualists prepared to accept Bishop Jewel's works "as a very sure com- " mentary on our Articles, as far as they lead?" So far from agreeing with Bishop Burnet in accepting Bishop Jewel's works at

large for this purpose, they will not accept his Apology, though it is a book of authority in the Church of England.

The Apology received the sanction of Convocation in 1562. In this year the Thirty-nine Articles were agreed upon by Convocation; and *in a letter* of *Bishop Jewel* to Peter Martyr, who was at Zurich, he declared:—"As to matters of doctrine, we have pared everything "away to the very quick, and do not differ from your doctrines a "nail's breadth." These are the words of "the first and much the "best writer of Queen Elizabeth's time"—of one "who had so "great a share in all that was done then." Writing to one who was a Calvinist and a Protestant of Protestants, he tells him: "We do "not differ from your doctrine a nail's breadth."

Among the "great men" whose writings Bishop Burnet consulted in preparing his work on the Articles, he names Dr. Whitaker, a polemical divine in Queen Elizabeth's reign. It is said that Cardinal Bellarmine, though often foiled by Dr. Whitaker's pen, honoured him by keeping his picture in his library, and gave as a reason for so doing, that "although he was an heretic, and his adversary, yet he "was a learned adversary." This divine writing on the subject of Calvinism, declares:—"The Church of England, ever since the "gospel was restored, hath *always* held this opinion: this, Bucer "in our University, and Peter Martyr at Oxford, professed . . . this "opinion their auditors in both our Universities, the bishops, deans, "and other divines, who upon the advancement of our famous Queen "Elizabeth to the crown, returned either from exile, or were released "from their prisons: those by whom our Church was reformed, our "religion established, popery thrust out, and quite destroyed: (all of "which we may remember, though few of this kind be yet living) this "opinion, I say, they themselves have held, and commended unto us; "in this faith they have lived, in this they died, in this they always "wished that we should constantly continue."*

In reply to the allegation which is sometimes made that the Reformers, whilst giving us Protestant and Evangelical Articles, gave us also a semi-Romish Prayer Book, I think it will suffice to answer in the words of Crofton, a Presbyterian minister in 1662: "I dare "not charge our first reformers and Marian martyrs to have gone "to the stake under the guilt and in the very act of impiety; and "yet many of them went embracing, commending, chanting, and "concluding their last devotion and breath in the words and order of "the Common Prayer."—("Reformation not Separation; or, Mr. "Crofton's Plea for Common with the Church of England, 4to. "1662, quoted in Lathbury's 'History of the Prayer Book,'" p. 344.)

But there is a further objection which it is necessary to notice—viz., that the Prayer Book as finally revised in 1662 is far less Protestant and Evangelical than it was before. On this point, I desire to offer a few observations. I have carefully compared "The several Editions of the Book of Common Prayer" by Keeling; and have read the chapter bearing on the subject of the Revision of

* Cygnea Cantio, page 65-66, Edition 1595, quoted from Overton's "True Churchmen," p. 72.

1661 by Dr. Stoughton, in his book on "Church and State Two Hundred Years Ago;"—the chapter in Procter on "The Book of Common Prayer," and the one in Lathbury's "History of the Book of Common Prayer." I not only fail to discover any justification for the allegation that the changes made were, as a whole, in regard to Protestantism, of a retrograde character; but on the other hand, I can cordially endorse the statement made by Dr. Blakeney, in his invaluable work on the Prayer Book, that it "has been handed down to us, not less Protestant by the "Revision of 1661, but more so than before." Lathbury, a moderate High churchman, says:—"After the fruitless attempts at comprehen- "sion in the Savoy Conference, the Convocation proceeded to revise "the Book of Common Prayer. The bishops spent the vacation in "making such alterations in the Book of Common Prayer as they "thought would make it more grateful to the dissenting brethren, "and such additions as in their judgment the temper of the present "time and the past miscarriages required."—(*Lathbury's History of the Prayer Book*, p. 344.)

Lathbury repeatedly declares that "though a few things were "altered in the book, yet substantially it remained the same;" and he gives as one reason, that "the Convocation would not rashly "touch the work of the Reformers."

I have endeavoured at some length to show that the framers of our formularies were men who held those distinctive doctrines which are designated "Evangelical;" and in support of this position I have submitted evidence from men of different schools of thought—from High churchmen, like Maskell and Heylin; Arminians, like Bishop Burnet; Evangelicals like Jewel and Whitaker; and from Non-conformists, such as Baxter and Robert Hall. I repeat what I have stated before—viz., that it is impossible to conceive that men holding firmly Evangelical truth would frame formularies which Evangelical men would be unable consistently to subscribe.

II.—Standard of Doctrine.

There is another test by which we are willing that our Churchmanship should be judged—viz., the Doctrinal Standard of the Church of England. It seems to be a work of supererogation to prove that the Thirty-nine Articles are the Supreme Standard of doctrine in the Church of England. This is involved in the declared design of the Articles. They were "Agreed upon by the Arch- "bishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in "the Convocation holden at London in the year 1562, for the "avoiding of Diversities of Opinions, and for the establishing con- "sent touching true Religion." This is confirmed by the Declaration of King Charles I, prefixed to the Articles, in which it is said that they "do contain the true Doctrine of the Church of England "agreeable to God's Work."

Thomas Rogers wrote the first exposition of the Articles in 1607. He dedicated it to Archbishop Bancroft, by whom the book was approved. In the dedication he says:—"The purpose of our

"Church is best knowne by the doctrine which she doth profess; "*the Doctrine by the* 39 *Articles established by Act of Parliament;* "*the Articles by the words, whereby they are expressed;* and other "purpose than the publike Doctrine doth minister; and other "Doctrine than in the said Articles is contained, our Church neither "hath, nor holdeth." Bishop Burnet in the Preface to his book on the Articles, says, the Thirty-nine Articles "are the sum of our "doctrine, and the confession of our faith." Bishop Tomline declares that since 1571, "these Articles have been the criterion of "the Faith of the Members of the Church of England." Bishop Stillingfleet, speaking of the Thirty-nine Articles, writes thus:— "This we *all* say, that the Doctrine of the Church of England is "contained therein; and, whatever the opinions of private persons "may be, this is the standard by which the sense of our Church is "to be taken!" Bishop Stillingfleet's words express what was the view taken on the subject by churchmen generally for 150 years after the Reformation. This is the view which found expression in the "Instructions to the Missionary Clergy," "drawn up and "printed by order of the Society" for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in 1706. One of the bye-laws runs thus:—"That they acquaint themselves thoroughly with *the Doc-* "*trine of the Church of England*, as contained in the Articles "and Homilies; its Worship and Discipline, and Rules for Behaviour "of the Clergy, as contained in the Liturgy and Canons; and *that* "*they approve themselves accordingly*, as Genuine Missionaries from "this Church."

I got a severe castigation from the *Church Times* for some remarks which I made at the Sheffield Church Congress. One of these remarks had reference to the point under consideration —viz. subscription to the Articles. The *Church Times*, says, Mr. Bardsley "insinuated that the High Church clergy did not "accept the Thirty-nine Articles, because somebody once emitted a "foolish joke about their being 'forty stripes save one.' But he is "a great deal too shrewd not to know that High churchmen are "the only people who really subscribe the Articles in 'their plain "and full meaning," and in the literal and grammatical sense."

My remarks, as I distinctly concluded by saying, had no reference to what are called "High churchmen," for though we differed from them we never questioned their loyalty, adding that we could not for a moment confound Romanizers and High churchmen. I plainly "insinuated" that Ritualists do not loyally accept the Articles, and I supported my "insinuation" by referring, amongst other things, to the fact that the Thirty-nine Articles had been called "the forty stripes save one." This, says the *Church Times*, was "a "foolish joke." Let me say that I first met with this so-called "foolish joke" in the Essay on the "Re-union of the Church," in the *Church and the World* for 1866. The writer (Mr. Blenkinsop) is speaking of the difficulties in the way of the re-union of Christendom; and when approaching the question of doctrine, he says:—"There remains the more important and difficult question of "doctrine. First of all come the Thirty-nine Articles, those Pro-

"testant Articles tacked on to a Catholic Liturgy, those 'forty "stripes save one,' as some have called them, laid on the back of "the Anglican priesthood;—How are they to be got over?" It will be seen that Mr. Blenkinsop does not treat the saying as "a "foolish joke."

The *Church Times* gives its readers to understand that the clergy of its way of thinking "are the only people who really subscribe "the Articles in 'their plain and full meaning.'" I read those words "over and over again, thinking I must have mistaken their meaning; for after reading these words it is rather disappointing to read the following statement in the *Church Times* for March 12th, 1869:— "We have never seen the use of retaining the Thirty-nine Articles "at all." And again, on the 3rd of September, 1869, we read:— "The abolition of the Thirty-nine Articles, the adoption of Edward "VI.'s First Communion Office. . . . would win for the Disestablished "Church the respect of Christendom."

Nor is the *Church Times* singular among Ritualistic organs in seeking to promote the abolition of the Thirty-nine Articles. In the *Church News* for July 29th, 1868, we read:—"It will soon "become the duty of churchmen to labour actively for the abolition "of the Articles, which have long ago done their work and are really "of extremely little use now, discrediting us (as they do) in the eyes "of foreign Catholics."

The *Church Quarterly Review*, for July last, has an article on the "Dogmatic Position of the Church of England." In this article the reader is told that, "As regards even those of the Thirty-nine "Articles to which exception is taken by Latin and Oriental divines, "it is to be remembered, that their position, as defended by Arch- "bishop Bramhall (with whom many other great theologians agree) "is only that of pious opinions, or inferior truths," &c. These passages need no comment.

Have the Evangelical clergy ever laboured to get the Articles abolished? On the contrary, may we not ask, Who successfully resisted the attempt that was made in the last century by opponents of dogmatic theology to abolish subscription to the Articles? Lecky, in his "History of the Eighteenth Century," says the attempt was resisted by the members of the Evangelical party. And now that a similar attempt is being made by those who are seeking to un-Protestantize our Church—to get rid of the Articles—more especially those "to which exception is being taken by Latin and "Oriental divines"—do they not encounter the strongest resistance from the members of the Evangelical party? Tried, then, by this test, Who are true churchmen? They who seek to abolish the Articles, or those who defend them? Those who, in the words of the Bishop of London, "attack or explain away the anti-Roman positions of the "Articles of which they confess their dislike," or those who hold to "them as the sheet-anchor of their churchmanship? We believe, with Bishop Hall, that "the voice of God our Father, in His "Scriptures, and (out of them) the voice of the Church our Mother, "in her Articles, is that which must both guide and settle our "resolutions."

III.—Authoritative Judgments.

There is a third test of churchmanship, to which Evangelical churchmen confidently appeal, viz., the authoritative Judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

1. The Gorham Judgment.

This Judgment shows that the views held by the Evangelical clergy on the Sacrament of Baptism are not only in harmony with the "opinions" which "have been propounded and maintained "without censure or reproach, by many eminent and illustrious "divines who have adorned the Church from the time when the "articles were first established;" but they are also declared to be consistent with an honest interpretation of the Baptismal Services and the Thirty-nine Articles. The justice of the decision of the court is acknowledged, as we have already seen, by Mr. Maskell; and it is equally approved by Mr. Mozeley, the late Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. Mr. Mozeley was a learned High churchman.

2. The Bennett Judgment.

The plain and forcible exposition of the teaching of the Church of England on the Lord's Supper, by the Court of Appeal, can only be regarded by Evangelical churchmen with feelings of devout thankfulness to God.

The court did not, indeed, condemn Mr. Bennett, because to the majority of its members it had not been clearly proved that he held the doctrine imputed to him; therefore it cannot be said with truth that *legal* sanction is given by the court to that doctrine, when the court distinctly affirmed, both directly and indirectly, that had the accused been proved to hold it, they must have condemned him. They intimate that if Mr. Bennett had "expressly" taught that there was any presence other than "*spiritual*," he must have been condemned. They also say that, "It is not lawful for a clergyman to "teach that the sacrifice or offering of Christ upon the Cross, or the "redemption, propitiation, or satisfaction, wrought by it, is or can "be repeated in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper; nor that in that "ordinance there is or can be any sacrifice or offering of Christ "which is efficacious in the sense in which Christ's death is "efficacious, to procure the remission of the guilt or punish-"ment of sin." Equally distinct is the declaration of the judges on the point of adoration, viz., that the Church of England has forbidden all acts of adoration either to the consecrated elements, or to any corporal presence of Christ therein.

3. The Mackonochie, Purchas, and Ridsdale Judgments, secured an authoritative declaration of the law against the restoration of those Romish vestments and practices which, more than three hundred years ago, our Reformers "utterly defaced and destroyed" as "reliques and monuments of superstition and idolatry." These Judgments have put it in the power of both the laity and our bishops to check most effectually practices which Dean Burgon declared, in a sermon at Oxford only last month, constituted "nothing else than a crime," viz., the "miserable endeavour to familiarize our people

" with Romish dresses, Romish gestures, Romish practices, Romish " phraseology, and Romish doctrines."

Without forgetting that there are some evils which arise from the connection of Church and State, these Judgments enable us, in the language of Matthew Henry to say, " Give God praise for the " establishment of religion, that the Reformation was, in our land, a " national act, and that Christianity thus purified is supported by " good and wholesome laws, and is twisted in with the very Consti- " tution of our Government."

IV.—The Test of whether the Church of England is Protestant.

This is the last point to which I shall invite attention. This test, as a means of determining whether Evangelical churchmen are true churchmen has more than once been proposed by our opponents. It was thrown down as a challenge in the early years of the Tractarian movement. In an article on Archbishop (then Bishop of Chester) Sumner's Lectures on the Romans, the following passage occurs in the " British Critic " for July, 1843, p. 64 :—" It cannot " be too often repeated, that if Protestantism be Christianity, " Catholicism (whether *Roman* Catholicism, or Tractarianism, which has taken to itself the name of Anglo-Catholicism), is anti- " Christianism, and of course *vice versâ*. There never was, and " there never will be, charity in softening down real distinctions; " open hostilities are ever a shorter road to eventual peace than " hollow and suspicious alliances." When Mr. Homersham Cox's recently published essay, " Is the Church of England Protestant ?" was reviewed in the *Church Times*, the reviewer declared, that if the Church of England be Protestant—" then the Evangelicals are " right, and all the action of the Church Association is more than " justified, and also the attempt now being made by Parliament in " the same interest." We accept the challenge, and only regret that we have not time to go fully into the question; but we can, I think, in a short space indicate the outline of our argument in support of the position that the Church of England *is* Protestant.

Mr. Homersham Cox contends that if we " search the Prayer " Book through we shall not find the word Protestant once used." To this illogical reasoning we reply—that in the whole of the Bible, from Genesis to Revelation, we do not find the word " Trinity." Will Mr. Cox contend that because the word Trinity is neither in the Old Testatament nor in the New Testament, that the *doctrine* is not there ? I suppose that Mr. Cox, if he were reasoning with a Socinian, would reply in the way I am replying to him; he would argue—" I do not say the word is there, but the doctrine is there." And so I say, that though the word Protestant is not in the Prayer Book, we have got what is infinitely better, we have got Protestantism there. I turn to the Thirty-nine Articles, and I ask, Do they not protest against the Roman Catholic doctrine of works of supererogation—against the infallibility of General Councils, as

maintained by the Church of Rome? Do they not protest against the Romish doctrines of purgatory, pardons, the worshipping and adoration as well of images as of reliques? Does not our Church say of the Romish doctrine of invocation of saints that it is "a fond "thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scrip- "ture, but rather repugnant to the word of God?" She protests against having divine service in an unknown language; against the doctrine of seven sacraments. She says that five of them are not sacraments of the Gospel. She declares that the doctrine of transubstantiation is "repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, over- "throweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to "many superstitions;" she declares that "the sacrifice of masses" involve "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." She protests against the supremacy of the Pope, both in the thirty-seventh Article and in the first of her canons. As for the homilies, they abound with protestations against the Church of Rome. One of the canons of 1604 (the 55th) requires preachers and ministers to move the people to join with them in prayer for the Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The Church referred to in this canon as the Church of Scotland is the Protestant Church of that country (Presbyterian), as is evident from the fact that the present Episcopalian Church of Scotland, as stated by Dean Hook, was only established in 1610, whereas the canons were framed in 1604, and we could not be required to pray for a Church that had no existence for six years after the canons were published.

There is another point to which I invite attention, viz., that throughout the whole of the seventeenth century, and indeed up to the last thirty or forty years, men of every school in our Church, even the highest churchmen, invariably called our Church the "Protestant Reformed Church of this country." Archbishop Laud, on the scaffold just before his execution, distinctly and solemnly declared, with his dying breath, that he had always belonged to the Protestant Reformed Church of this country established by law. In 1723, Bishop Atterbury, the leader of the High-church party, declared, in the House of Lords, that he had no love for Popery, and that he held by the Protestant Reformed Church of his country. Now if this be so, if the Articles are Protestant, if the Homilies are Protestant, and if the leaders of the High-church School were Protestant, we may still assume that our Church *is a* Protestant Church.

Convocation, too, has on several occasions designated our Church "Protestant."

Let me remind you, as I conclude, of what took place on the day that our gracious Majesty the Queen was crowned in Westminster Abbey. She was required to take certain oaths; and by whom were those oaths administered? They were administered by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the name of this Church and nation; and one of the questions addressed to Her Majesty was this:—"Will "you to the utmost of your powers maintain the laws of God, the

"true principles of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed "Religion established by law?"

Seeing, then, that in all essential points touching Evangelical truth, we are in agreement with the framers of the formularies of the Church of England—sincerely attached to her form of Church government—cordially embracing her doctrinal standards, accepting her Scriptural liturgy—our doctrine and practice having been vindicated by the decisions of the highest courts of the realm; and believing her to be the great bulwark of our nation's Protestantism, we claim as "Evangelical churchmen to be true churchmen."

To be obtained at the Office of the Church Association, 14, Buckingham Street, Strand, London.
By Subscribers, for distribution, free. By others at the price of 10*d.* per dozen, or 6*s* per 100.

10th Thousand.]

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE: ITS PROPER RELATION TO SIMPLE CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

By A. R. PITE, Esq., Architect.

Paper read at the Autumn Conference of the Church Association, held in the Athenæum Room, Derby, on the 5th and 6th November, 1878.

Numerous papers read by antiquaries, architects, and amateurs at Church Congresses and Diocesan gatherings are on record, containing so many statements in stereotyped form of what the writers have desiderated, that no recapitulation of them can be necessary by any additional essay on church architecture. I am therefore anxious, in leaving the beaten track of Ecclesiology, that we should discover what principles are in danger from the Ritualistic encroachments of the day, and take counsel how to act in the emergency.

For thirty years, Mediævalism, under the specious garb of a Gothic revival in architecture, has been moulding the minds of the clergy and laity alike for the reception of certain Romanistic forms of design and structure now said to be popular. This tendency has gradually spread, like a fretting leprosy, over a large Ecclesiastical surface. Not only has it imposed upon church buildings, fittings, furniture, and vestments a Romish character, but an affected gorgeous ceremonial has, in many cases, taken the place of simple Christian worship. By a veiled and stealthy sapping, the pulpit, the platform of God's herald, has been undermined, and the Altar of Sacerdotalism substituted as the central object of attraction. Over-decorated structures of pseudo-mediæval design, but carried out in detailed subservience to modern conventionalities, are intro-

duced to covertly favour Popish formularies, and to serve as stepping-stones to the ornate ceremonial of a sensuous religion whose chilling influences and bondage to ordinances stamp it as antagonistic to the scriptural injunction that we should "attend "upon the Lord without distraction."

In the stormy aspect of our political and Ecclesiastical horizon, it behoves us to look with anxious care, not only to the principles, but also to the external expressions of form in our church architecture. "*The house of God, which is the church of the living* "*God*," is exposed to fierce assaults from the enemy who seeks to gain the citadel. Under such conditions, the Christian who holds the "truth" dearer than life, must offer an uncompromising resistance to error in every form as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.

It cannot be overlooked that architecture, music, painting, and sculpture, as sister arts, have so intertwined themselves with religious edifices in all countries, Pagan or Christian, that we cannot lightly estimate their legitimate influence. In the Tabernacle "*Bezaleel and Aholiab were filled with the Spirit of God in wisdom,* "*in understanding, in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship*," to carry out the details of the Divine Specification. In the work of the Temple, the highest art and the choicest treasures of wealth were gathered within walls of exquisite workmanship ; yet all was brought to a proper level by the manifested presence of "One greater "than the Temple."

Doctrine—ceremonial and architectural effect are so indissolubly associated in all Ecclesiastical edifices, that, by a natural law, a correspondence ordinarily exists between the external style and the religious uses of a building. So Egypt, Assyria, India, China, Japan, Greece, Babylon, Rome, and Stamboul—each and all testify to the harmonious union of the Fine Arts and Religion.

If we believe as an axiom that "Christianity is essentially Christ's "life in the Church, pervaded by the Spirit of God," we must keep this belief steadily in view, as the criterion of our opinions in all questions affecting Christian worship. Primitive Christianity adopted the Basilican form as best adapted to its wants and to a simple formulary. The development of an apostate Christianity gave origin to fanes erected for gorgeous display, and adapted to an idolatrous system which enslaved the worshipper to dangerous

errors, veiled by art and gross superstition, and draped seductively by the sacerdotal powers.

In the present day the churches of our English towns and villages are often made to serve as provincial museums for curious and artistic embellishments, presenting in most cases an incongruous mass of distracting details, the heterogeneous contents of a student's sketch-book. It should be our endeavour to sweep away the cobwebs of a decayed superstition, by faithful adherence to simplicity of form and worship, and recognizing as the standard of all Christian usage, the early precept—"*Whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all "in the name of the Lord Jesus,*" and so transmitting uninjured and unimpared to our successors the precious legacy of Apostolic doctrine and practice.

Let us inquire, in the first place—

What have Ecclesiologists, antiquarians, and modern architects done for our churches in building and restoring them?

They have sketched out the general plan of our parish churches and cathedrals; they have argued well and ably for their congregational usages; but, with a scrupulous tendency, they have linked up and incorporated in their designs many Romish accessories.

From the time of Constantine, the Basilican hall with its apsis has been accepted as the basis of our church architecture, and to this day the leading principles of the Basilican plan are dominant, in spite of the fringe of aisles, chapels, and altars grafted on it in times of apostacy, when the pulpit was supplanted by the altar.

Without drifting into a dissertation on the various styles prevalent in Christendom, let us, for the practical issues before us, look within the range of English history at the rise, maturity, decadence, and revival of our national Gothic style, carefully nurtured by centuries, and perfected in the magnificent cathedral piles which adorn our cities. From the Romanesque and Norman periods prevaling from 800 to 1150, successive developments of our English Gothic passed through transitional periods and reached a climax of beauty in the decorated architecture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But when the degenerating florid and perpendicular Gothic took its place as the dominant style, and prevailed to the middle of the seventeenth century, a general decadence characterized all the works of the period, not only at home, but also abroad.

We have at the present day the conventional forms pressed upon our attention and presented for our general adoption in Nave, Aisles,

Transepts, and Chancel, all appropriate to the simple Christian worship of our Church of England services. Special pleading and pressure, however, are exercised to introduce the unnecessary and distracting accessories of the Ecclesiologist. The simple worshipper knows no altar or sacrifice but the person and work of the Adorable Redeemer, while the multiform chapels, shrines, and screens so essential to mediæval effect, and so gratifying to the senses, can have no place in his formularies or creed. The Piscina, the Sedilia, the Baldachin, the Credence, the Rood screen, all have an origin and a history of their own, interesting and engrossing in no mean degree to the antiquarian and the architectural student, but bearing directly on Romish doctrines we do well to avoid involving, as they do, principles subversive of all that was restored to us by the Reformation. I am firmly convinced that those who venture blindly on the lines of conventional architecture, with all its paraphernalia, must sooner or later find themselves on the high road to such mediævalisms as Lady Chapels, Sanctuaries, Retreats, Confessionals, the Monastery, and the Convent.

It is an essential, in the policy of the Romish Church, that the so-called altar should be the central point of attraction in doctrine and practice for priest and sacrifice, and around it screens of iron, wood, or stone are erected to prevent the intrusion of the profane. These screens are now becoming prominent in modern Ritualistic churches, making them unworthy of the name of the House of God, by contrivances in plain opposition to simple Christian worship, and offering every encouragement to monastic institutions and to the introduction of Guild-halls attached to our churches.

There can be no doubt that a great contrast exists between the original Basilican design and the Mediæval church. In the former large congregations could be assembled to hear without architectural or ritual hindrance the Gospel message from the ambassador of the King of kings. In the latter, the ceremonial and pomp of sacerdotal performances engrossed the senses of the congregations, reducing the actual devotees to a few, and driving them in small groups to altars and shrines seeking rest but finding none. Interior adornments involving points of coloration and sculpture form a subject the consideration of which, in its immediate relation to spiritual worship, might fairly occupy our whole time. Leaving that field as too large for us to enter upon, I simply remark there are valid climatic reasons for constructive decoration in the varied building materials within our reach.

We have to remark in the second place—

Ecclesiologists have brought to light and preserved many beautiful specimens of art. But by embalming them in modern structures as objects of veneration, and in insisting on their adoption as future models, they attempt to carry our admiration beyond its legitimate purpose in church architecture.

The Romanizers of our day have not only dealt seductively in their apostate dogmas, but in a fraudulent manner have subtly foisted their doctrines into the plans and details of Ecclesiastical architecture on the specious plea of antiquarian veneration and a holy love for religious symbolism.

This tendency must be resisted. "What concord hath Christ "with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel?" There are some so enraptured with their conceptions of the typical and the symbolical, that they have grossly distorted the metaphors of Scripture to favour the forms and sculptures of their superstition.

In all these efforts there is a dreamy affectation of mediævalism, and a cold unreality, strangely inconsistent with its own assumption of a beautiful parallelism and harmony between structure and doctrine.

It is quite legitimate to take an artistic and antiquarian interest in mediæval designs and details, as history itself recorded in stones; but we must carefully distinguish between mere artistic appreciation and revival and any theological principles and practices involved in their application to Christian worship. Weighing well their logical consequences and their natural effect in transforming the services of our Church into a vain display, the injunction "*touch not, taste not, handle not,*" must guide our decisions in this solemn matter lest we be exposed to the Master's rebuke, "*Who* "hath required this at your hand?"

We are also bound to remark that in some modern cases the high ceremonial associated with such architectural excesses is an exaggerated burlesque of a corrupt original. While conveying only the faintest idea of the traditional or primitive usages which form its defence, it exerts on the minds of the people a fascinating influence by scenic effects, by the charms of music, and by pompous ceremony. We cannot, therefore, but raise the voice of warning against the insidious and arrogant demands of a High Ritual, veiled and at the same time supported by architectural device, as calculated to pervert, by their traditional associations the sacred ordi-

nances of our Church into actual stumbling-blocks to the simple worshipper.

That this tortuous process of amalgamating truth with error is really the policy of the Romanizing party is amply proved by the Jesuitical tactics which they have recently exhibited in straining the public patience and trifling with the dignity of our courts of law. These strategies have purchased for them a temporary evasion at the cost of a complete exposure of the arts they employ in their endeavours to taint church architecture with error and superstition.

In the third place we note—

That the Ecclesiologists have endeavoured to make the drapery of Romish plan and ornamental device suit the form and circumstances of our Protestant Church. The voice of Jacob is heard in unholy incongruity with the garments of Esau. The example should itself be a sufficient warning to us not to enter into any alliance or compromise that could accept those mediæval accretions which are the distinguishing characteristics of the Roman Catholic ritual. All such accessories group around the central doctrine of the Altar and Sacrifice, terms which are foreign to our Church category, for only in a spiritual sense have "we an altar whereof they "have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle."

Against this parody of religion and this obstrusiveness of worship, permitted—alas! by the latitudinarian tendencies of the day, "*the* "*stone* cries out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall "answer it" that the walls are "daubed with untempered mortar." Sacerdotalism is, in brief, the central purpose of the Tractarian movement. It is the goal to which they urge our people by insidious education. Let us therefore avoid as jealously as possibly any contact with the unclean thing. Let us recognize that we are in the presence of two powerful and antagonistic forces, and that a challenge is exchanged between the Altar and the Pulpit—between Sacerdotalism and the Ambassador of Christ.

We now come to the inquiry :—

How can architecture consistently represent the principles and usage of the Church of England, and thus in a subsidiary way contribute to simplicity and reality in Christian worship ?

Having pursued our subject up to this point negatively, by demonstrating what errors and dangers should be avoided, we would now endeavour to ascertain positively the legitimate use of the means at our disposal as sanctioned by the unerring word of God.

Let us first ask, What does God require of us? "*To present our "bodies a living sacrifice,*" which, taken in its obvious and spiritual sense, involves the vital principle of Holiness to the Lord, manifest in all things religious, whether internal or external.

As the visible church is but the outer court of an invisible inner court where the Shekinah dwells in Divine glory, it is incumbent upon us that we allow no intermediary glamour to disturb our vision or impede our access. Anything that the architect can do to further this spiritual aim is fairly at the disposal of the Church, but any doubtful innovation should be checked at its earliest appearance by the thought that "the place whereon he stands is holy "ground." We must as a rigid duty examine the principles and motives which are latent in the forms we adopt, lest, like the Pharisees of old, we "*make clean the outside of the cup and of the "platter,*" leaving them within "*full of extortion and excess.*"

Let our buildings and ornamentation reflect, in design and execution, the pure light of New Testament Scripture where no sacerdotal acts are performed by the Ministry, but where they are appointed the Evangels of the Gospel, to teach and exhort the people as Ambassadors of the Most High.

Simplicity of plan should, therefore, characterize all our Ecclesiastical structures; and where means and inclination combine to produce a building of imposing proportions and striking beauty, all the resources and expedients of the arts may be worthily employed in harmonious rivalry for legitimate effect.

In thus consecrating human will and genius to the service of God, scrupulous care should be exercised to protect the worshipper from distraction, recognizing his supreme desire to "*see the King "in His beauty, and find grace to help in time of need.*" Infinite as are the glories of the New Jerusalem presented to us in Scripture under the most splendid imagery, all its glory is as nothing in comparison to the central "Light thereof," the presence of "the Lamb "that was slain." So in our churches should all our architectural detail be subordinated to the one great purpose of our assembling together, and should tend to impress on our hearts by faith the presence and power of the Divine Master.

The architect must remember this duty in his work by arranging that the congregation may have an uninterrupted view of the Pulpit, Prayer-desk, Lectern, and Communion-table. While the eye may be satisfied with beautiful outline, just proportions, and

with appropriate decoration made subordinate to the general plan, the mind must be left unfettered to experience those holy emotions and impulses for the absence of which no excess of ornament can atone.

The high ceremonialists of to-day beguile the eyes of our congregations in the most specious manner, engrossing the attention by over-adorning the church fabric according to a perverse and delusive fancy: for the idea of a peaceful and triumphant Church resting and rejoicing in a world of sin and sorrow and active antagonism is surely the reverse of actual Christian experience. We maintain, on the contrary, that the Church being really in her militant state should be represented to the world as far as possible in her true character, "*persecuted but not forsaken, cast down but "not destroyed,*" a united body triumphing only by faith in assured victory, but struggling for her Lord day by day, and invoking help and strength from the sanctuary on high. Her unquestionably militant condition is altogether incongruous with the triumph signified by an ornate Ritual.

As illustrating a consistent love of church architecture combined with the deepest attachment to principles of vital godliness we may glance at the work and character of George Herbert, an enthusiastic and reverent church restorer of Reformation days. In this remarkable man the highest faculties for poetry, music, and architecture combined to stir up the master-passion of his soul—an absorbing love for his Divine Lord—to sanctified Christian work and worship. The one pervading theme of his life, his writings, and his work, the inspiration of his holy example, was the Atonement of Christ. Next to the personal Saviour, the Church of England with her scriptural formularies was nearest and dearest to his heart. To a mind like his the structure in which he gained the closest and holiest communion with his Lord was the very threshold of the heavenly court.

His poem of "The Temple," published after his death, sheds on the subject of church decoration a freshness and a perfume which covers the whole theme with a sanctified fragrance. His mind, richly stored with biblical knowledge, and his affections steeped in the love and grace of his Redeemer, the quaintness of his fancy, the boldness of his thought, the vigour of his language, and his deep simplicity all combined with an artistic power rarely

equalled, to make his poesy one long and flowing hymn of praise to God.

Christopher Harvey published in the seventeenth century some poems on the same subject and in the same strain as Herbert, whose mantle he seemed to inherit. Recognizing the necessity and value of popular instruction for the people in the House of God, this able and judicious writer links up in a quaint style the actual wants of the people, making no reference to mediæval usages, but touching all the salient points of simple Christian worship as appropriate to our Church services, by depicting in glowing terms his ideal of the external and material means of grace.

The Prayer-desk and Lectern, as the source of comfort in supplication and sustenance from the Word of God,—the Pulpit, as the fountain of divine light and life, and the ministering place of God's messengers commissioned to provide edification and faithful exhortation,—and the Table of the Lord, beautifully representative of the banquet-table of Christ's love with His own people to perpetuate the memory of His death "*till He come*,"—have each their proper sphere and value as a help to Christian worship beautifully designated in his writings.

We note, further, that all the resources of art should be legitimately employed to adapt our church architecture to the simple usages and formularies of the Church of England.

David would not offer to the Lord a gift which cost him nothing, and he prepared an abundance of treasure and free-will offerings from the people. Though God was pleased to sanction, sanctify and bless the work, it would never have been accepted if David's own heart and life had not been consecrated with it to the service of God. In like manner the love of Cornelius was manifested in Apostolic times by building a synagogue, which proved to be a gift acceptable to the Lord.

The Temple of Solomon, with its elaborate detail, its priceless adornments and its wealth of treasure, is a striking example of the extent to which ornamentation may legitimately be carried when authorized by a definite ceremonial under Mosaic law and Divine appointment. Yet we have no trace of the Divine approval of the Temple *merely* as a gorgeous structure. The real glory of the Temple was in its great spiritual purpose and design, in the loyal recognition of *Jehovah's great name* being there in the unapproach-

able sanctity of the Holy of Holies, and in the effulgent presence of the Shekinah.

The contentions that have been aroused in our own day by questions as to the proper position of the Lord's table might well be set at rest for the simple Christian by the remembrance that the holy supper was instituted by our Lord—not in the Temple, not in the synagogue—but in a Jewish dwelling highly honoured by the Master, and at an ordinary table. Let the table, therefore, stand—in the words of the rubric of Elizabeth—"*in the body of the church* "*or in the chancel.*" All superfluous ornamentation or formularies associated with the simple administration of the Supper of the Lord tend to divert the mind from the spiritual reality of Christian worship, are far removed from the divine original, and are contrary to the spirit of the Church of England.

Architecture should ever be pressed into the Christian service as the handmaiden of religious truth, but not used as an expedient for seducing the people into Romish practices and doctrines. Art should never be allowed to dominate over religious principle, but should contentedly remain its faithful servant. The material and finite must never supplant the spiritual and infinite.

The Scriptural injunction that the Church should, with "*lively* "*stones*" of varied but harmonious parts, build up "*a spiritual house,*" fitted for "an habitation of God through the Spirit," indicates the essential principle of unity and beauty that should characterize our church architecture and define its proper relation to simple Christian worship. Gathered together in such a consciousness, the people of God may not be surrounded with architectural embellishments, but they can well afford the loss if, realising their Lord's spiritual presence, they be filled with the joyful conviction—"*This is none other* "*than the House of God, and this is the Gate of Heaven.*"

To conclude:—It is manifestly our duty to protest against all dangerous innovations: adhering steadfastly to the great landmarks of our Christian verities, and to the simple worship of the Early Church, that the standard of vital godliness in our land be not debased.

We should jealously guard against the insidious attacks of the enemy from within, as discernible in the practices, pretensions and assumptions of the Ritualistic clergy, at once contemptible in themselves and disastrous in their tendencies.

That the powerful influence exercised by internal forces at work in the Church, suppressed only by temporary expedients, are now ready to burst forth into bud, blossom, and fruition of the rankest Popish development, is an unmistakable danger which can only be averted by a persevering, faithful, and prayerful resistance. The whole machinery of Ecclesiastical and Civil law has become necessary for the restraint of apostacy; and the decisions and specific prohibitions of Her Majesty's courts established for the protection of all we hold dear in our National Church are barely sufficient to avert an open assault from the enemy.

But for a healthy public opinion in support of judicial decisions we are fully conscious that the *virus* might at any time burst forth with tenfold virulence. In loyalty to our Lord Jesus Christ—the Supreme Head of His Church—let us cherish an intelligent zeal, founded on the consciousness of our union with Him, and fighting under His banner, to offer the most unequivocal antagonism to all encroachments of apostate doctrine draped in architectural forms.

For more than three hundred years the Church of England has raised a uniform protest against the intrigues of Rome; and still she must keep on her guard as a protester against an elaborate Ritual, flattering no doubt to the human emotions, but tending in the most direct and positive manner to draw off the mind from the great spiritual realities which the simple usage and formularies of our Church are designed to teach.

Let us also remember, by way of contrast, that the Roman Catholic Church claims to be a living encyclopædia of the arts, especially in their architectural development, whether in Classic, Romanesque, or Mediæval form. Consistently with the pretension, it seizes every opportunity to unite architecture, sculpture, music, and painting in harmonious competition to adorn the shrines and altars of an idolatrous system, in plain contravention of the written word of the Most High, "*who dwelleth not in temples made with "hands,*" and has declared—"*To this man will I look, even to him that "is poor and of a contrite spirit.*"

On the other hand, the Church of England has wisely preferred a more spiritual order of things in "*the proper relation of Church "architecture to simple Christian worship.*" The Holy Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer taken together, define the augustness of the House of God as closely identified with the "*Audience "Chamber of the King of kings.*"

Holiness not only becometh the people of God, but should be the corner-stone of the House of God itself, so that solemn awe and filial joy may combine to fill the soul of the Christian with ecstacy of delight in anticiptaion of a promised blessing in the Courts of the Lord. Hence the architect should cultivate his great art with all its accessories for the service of the Lord of Hosts so as to assist and not hinder the worshipper, realizing the responsibility attaching to his most honourable employ as a servant of Jesus Christ—aptly expressed by Herbert when he said—

"Teach me, my God and King,
In all things *Thee* to see,
And what I do in anything,
To do it as for Thee."

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THE
TRUE HISTORY OF THE RITUALISTIC CONSPIRACY.

With Extracts from Ritualistic Writings.

The question has been long mooted whether the Ritualism of the present day, in all its proportions and power, is the unconscious and unforeseen evolution of the Tractarian movement thirty years ago or the goal to which that movement, deliberately and designedly, directed its steps, as the long-foreseen object of its insidious and incessant activity. From the character of the movement itself, from the evidence of those who first made the movement or sympathized with it, and from the admissions of an article on "Catholic Revival" in the *Union Review* in 1867, we can draw no other conclusion than this, that "the Catholic Revival," so-called, has been only another name, from first to last, for a Ritualistic conspiracy, planned deliberately from the very first, for the single and sole purpose of assimilating the whole doctrine and ritual of the Protestant Church of this country to the doctrine and ritual of the Church of Rome, which it distinctly repudiated and renounced at the Reformation. In accepting this view of Tractarianism we are not guided merely by the opinions of such men as Archbishop Whately and Bishop Thirlwall, the profoundest thinkers and writers of their age in the Church, as well as the closest of observers and the most logical of reasoners, who denounced the movement from the first as a systematic organization to unprotestantize the Church of England, and to Romanize her doctrine and ritual. But the nature of the movement itself, and the admissions of the movers, make it impossible to form any other reasonable estimate of it. The movement was based from the first by the Tractarians on the Roman Catholic principles of *development* of doctrine, the practice of *reserve*, and the *authority of tradition* as equivalent to that of Holy Scripture, with a *denial of the right* of private judgment. The goal to which the children of the Church of England were to be taught to run, by gradual training and *reserve*, as the ultimate development of the movement, is clearly indicated in Tract 89, page 20, the Romish *Mass Book*, which is actually set forth as "*inspired*." . . . The fundamental principles of Romanism formed in this way the very basis of Tractarianism from the very

first, with no other purpose but to eject Protestantism from the pale of the English Church and to substitute Popery—though without the Pope. For the completion of this purpose caution was necessary, and therefore the leaders of the movement enjoined caution in the work of gradual development as an indispensable condition of ultimate success. To the more impetuous and honest of the Tractarians, this gradual development was much too slow, and much too dishonest, and, as a consequence, they seceded at once to the Romish Church to which their principles of Tractarianism logically carried them, and the excuse made by the Ritualistic Press in cases of Ritualistic perverts to the Church of Rome, was either that their impatience was too great to wait for the good time coming when the Catholic revival would be completed within the Church, or that the perverts were over sensitive to the *persecution* they had to undergo for their Catholic principles and practices.

But if no other proof existed of the charge we make that Ritualism is, and ever has been, a deliberate and designed conspiracy, we find it amply set forth in the article on "Catholic Revival in the Church of England," which appeared in the *Union Review* of 1867. This article was written by a layman of the Church of England, a member of the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom, to a *Catholic* priest in Germany. The writer, who is an avowed Ritualist, is, be it remembered, not only in communication but in perfect sympathy with his correspondent, the Roman Catholic priest, in point of doctrine and ritual, as is seen in almost every page of this remarkable and honest epistle which testifies to the fact that not only is Tractarianism, when fully developed, *Romanism*, but that the whole aim of the Tractarians, from the very first was to develop Tractarianism into Romanism, pure and simple. The following extracts set this point beyond the possibility of a doubt or the shadow of a misconception :—

"This present movement, which is now in everybody's mouth, and which is being everywhere discussed,—in Convocation and in Parliament, in the public press and in private society, is called 'Ritualism,' and the leaders of it 'Ritualists.' This name, however, we ourselves repudiate, as conveying a false impression, and misleading people into supposing that we are mere æsthetics, fighting for forms and ceremonies, and nothing more. 'No,' say we, 'if we *must* have a name, call us *Catholics*. Our belief is that the Church of which we are members is Catholic in her Faith, and Catholic in her usages, and that Protestantism in any shape and form has no legal place within her. If you who oppose us glory in your Protestantism, we glory in our Catholicism ; and if you call us Catholics, as we call you Protestants, then there will be no mistake as to the points at issue between us.' (*p.* 380.)

"This is a *bonâ fide* description of the position of our party, and I will now endeavour to show you what is our present progress, and what are our future hopes. You will easily understand that an attempt to subvert the corrupt tradition of centuries in matters of external usage, must be made very gradually and carefully. We can never forget that our sole aim is to win souls to Christ, and that

anything like forcing unprepared soil is to be scrupulously avoided. Hence it happens that the churches in which Catholic principles are being carried out, present no uniformity at present, but are all at different stages in the progress of emersion from Protestantism to Catholicism. The rapidity of this progressive change will of course vary according to the nature and degree of the obstructions it may meet with. Some priests will be all their life long, perhaps, in bringing their congregation forward ; others under more favourable circumstances may affect the desired restoration in four or five years. On an average, perhaps, we may say it requires ten years. It would, I fear, take too long to give you a sketch of the various steps by which such a transformation is effected, though I am sure you would find it most interesting. You can picture to yourself what a task it would be to transform one of your Lutheran churches into a building fitted in all respects for a Catholic system of services, and its congregation into a body of well-instructed and devout Catholic worshippers. Every inch of ground can only be won at the cost of labours and anxieties, such as none but those full of the love of Christ and His Church, and conscious of the supernatural grace and power given to them as His Priests, could sustain. For such a detailed sketch, I have no time. I will merely describe to you the point to which some of our churches have already attained, and intersperse a few explanatory remarks as the occasion may suggest. (*p.* 383.)

"In a church where Catholic Ritual has advanced further at present,—for we do not profess to have attained a full restoration yet—Mass will be said daily, and the faithful who desire can *communicate* as well as *assist* at it. *The Ritual of our Mass is, in the main, identical with yours.*" (*ib.*)

"Of other Societies, Guilds, Brotherhoods, &c., we have at present plenty,—rather *too* many in fact for our present numerical position, which demands concentration and centralization, in order to make our work effective. I will merely notice some of them. (*pp.* 385, 6.)

"The first I will mention is the 'Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament.' Its main object is to perform acts of reparation for the many dishonours done in our land to our Lord's Sacramental Presence, and to use all efforts to promote the payment of the honour due to It. It holds its Anniversary Services naturally on Corpus Christi Day, and its numbers are, year by year, steadily increasing. To this agency we look for such works as helping poor parishes to provide the proper Mass Vestments and Altar Furniture, and spreading by its publications the Catholic Doctrine of the Real Presence, and all other doctrines and practices necessarily developing out of it. To it, for instance, we must, in the course of time, look for agitating the restoration of the Perpetual Presence,—at present, unhappily, not provided for in our Church laws,—and the establishment of a system of Perpetual Adoration of that Presence. (*p.* 386.)

"Then there is the 'Guild of St. Alban,'—our first English martyr. Its main object is to supply through its members lay assistance to the Parish Priest; to give help in Schools, Choirs, and in the Corporal Works of Mercy. There are also many other such Associations with more special objects. (*ib.*)

"But I must now tell you of the most important Society of all,—the centre from which all our efforts radiate,—and that is the 'English Church Union.' Its

object is 'The Maintenance of the Doctrine and Principle of the English Church. It has a central organization in London, with a President and Council who meet every fortnight, and the Society itself meets there once a month. It has also 'Branch Associations' established on the same model, throughout our country and its colonies. It is impossible to over-estimate the practical importance of this Association, which is the main director and stay of the whole movement. It has only been in existence about six years, and now numbers about 6000 members (2000 of whom are clergy), and includes already men of all ranks and professions —Peers, Members of Parliament, Lawyers, Merchants, Bankers, &c., &c.—and new members are joining at the rate of about 200 a month." (*ib.*)

"There are other agencies also at work, independently of us, which are all helping on in the same direction. I do not think that anywhere so much is done as in England, towards spreading the taste for Church Music among all classes, and also providing for the congregation taking their share in the musical parts of our Services. In nearly every diocese in the kingdom is established a 'Choral Association,' and once a year a 'Choral Festival' is held in the Cathedral, in which most of the Choirs in the different villages in the diocese take part. The special music for the occasion is selected by the 'Committee' of the Association, and is printed and circulated among the various Choirs some months beforehand. Before the time of the Festival a Musical Inspector goes round and examines the state of the Choirs, and ensures the music being taught with a proper uniformity of time and expression. I can assure you it is a sight not to be forgotten, to see one of our noble Cathedrals filled from end to end with the Choirs—and, to a great extent, with the congregations—of the country churches for miles and miles round. The Choirs are properly marshalled outside the Cathedral, and then they march in a long procession—each Choir preceded by its banners—and sing a processional hymn as they enter. True, these Choir Festival Services are seldom associated with that chief act of Christian worship, the Offering of the Holy Sacrifice. But still they have a great value, as accustoming our people to an external cultus on a grand scale, as well as to the association of that which delights eye and ear with the worship of God. They strike at the root of the old Puritanical idea of worship, and that is a great matter. Also you know the worth of 'Hymnology' as a means of spreading the Faith. We are wonderfully rich in hymns in England; and the collections issued by the Catholic party are very extensively used even in Protestant congregations, who are thereby unconsciously imbibing the very essence of Catholic Truth. It is impossible to over-estimate this most important agency at our command." (*pp.* 391, 2.)

"Such being the case, you will perceive at once how cautious we have been in the use of terms and expressions, which are associated in the Protestant mind with such astonishing 'misconceptions.' Thus, in writing to you, I have spoken of the 'Mass,' which is with us, as with you, the name which the Church authorizes us to give to the Sacrament of the Altar. But, in general, we do not use the word knowing the false impressions which are stereotyped on the Protestant mind in connection with it. We give our people the *fact*,—the real doctrine of the Mass first; the name will come of itself by and by." (*pp.* 404, 5.)

"So again with regard to the cultus of the Blessed Virgin. We shall only be

able to establish this by slow and cautious steps. We have not the heart yet to dispossess our opponent of the belief, alas! so dear to him, that a large body of his fellow-creatures, including many men of the highest intellectual eminence, nay some, he will even admit, of deep personal piety and holiness, have deluded themselves into the practice of that monstrous figment of the Protestant brain called 'Mariolatry.' No, we must leave the useful word to serve its eminently useful purposes. We must instruct him in the *facts* first; the *name*, or rather, in this, case, the removal of the name, will follow afterwards." (*pp.* 405, 6.)

"There are only two living forces now at work in England,—'Catholicism' and 'Rationalism;' and this latter, whilst it finds the mere professing Protestant an easy prey, must drive the sincere men among them to see that Catholicism affords the only ground from which it can be resisted. Thank God! the voice of our Church speaks clearly and emphatically in denunciation of that 'right of Private Judgment,' which, whilst it is the Alpha of the Protestant Creed, is the Alpha and Omega of the Rationalist. Here, in a sense of the danger of the common foe, and of the identity of that Faith which is to overcome him, we hope to find one strong force of attraction to draw, not only the Protestant to us, but both together to you. (*pp.* 407, 8.)

"But when? ah! when? The time cannot be so very far off. The strides which have been made during the last ten years are enormous. And, as I say, we are all, however opposed, moving on together." (*p.* 408.)

"But it is not from these hopes and dreams of the future, however probable, that we derive our confidence. No; we derive it from the progress of the *past*, which none but God could have wrought; and it is strengthened by the *present* tokens of His Grace with us, as shown in the reality and earnestness with which the work is being carried, on and the frequency and fervency with which His Sacramental Strength is everywhere sought, and, as we believe, obtained. (*ib.*)

"I hope I have said enough to justify any convictions that there is no reason for discouragement, on either of these two heads, but that it is reasonable to hope that at the end of this Third Period, say twenty years hence, Catholicism will have so leavened our Church, that she herself in her corporal capacity, and not a mere small section of her like ourselves, will be able to come to you, and say:—'Let the hands which political force, not spiritual choice, have parted these three 'hundred years, be once more joined. We are one with you in Faith, and we have 'a common Foe to fight. There may be a few divergencies of practice on our side. 'We seek to make no terms; we come only in the spirit of love and of humility 'but at the same time we feel sure that the Chief Shepherd of the Flock of Christ 'will deal tenderly with us, and place no yoke upon us which we are not able to 'bear." (*pp.* 408, 9.)

"Depend upon it, *it is only through the English Church itself that England can be Catholicized;* and to give up our position in it, with all the innumerable opportunities it offers, would be to leave millions of our countrymen an easy prey to that terrible monster of Infidelity, which is so certainly creeping upon them." (*p.* 410.)

"Do not, however, think that *this* is our real reason for remaining in her. If 'Truth be dearer than a friend,' Truth is also dearer than our country; and if Truth demanded that we should sacrifice her to her fate, I trust we should be found to obey the call. Again, if our love for you, and our desire for Communion with you be strong, yet is our love of Truth stronger still: and, so long as the Church of England remains what she is, to join you in any but a corporate capacity would be, in our view, to sin against the Truth." (*ib.*)

"I would further observe that the very strength of our desire for union with you is the surest guarantee of our remaining faithful to our Church; for it implies, if words have any meaning at all, that we are thoroughly convinced that *we have a Church to unite with yours*, and to maintain the contrary would be to give the lie to the very central principle and motive of the whole present movement. This is a paradox which the Protestant *cannot* understand. He sees our love for you, and immediately argues from it our hatred of our own Church; he cannot understand our remaining in it for one moment. 'Sir,' said a Bishop to a friend of mine after his examination for Holy Orders, 'I cannot refuse to ordain 'you, for I know that many good and learned members of our Church before now 'have held your opinions. But, I tell you plainly, that with your views you 'ought to be in the Church of Rome, and not in the Church of England.' To you the paradox will be not how we can hold your views, and yet remain in our Church; but how we can consider we have a Church at all. Nevertheless, though on this point you may regard us as hopelessly obtuse, I trust I have told you enough of the present movement to prove at least the sincerity of our obtuseness, and also to show that the work now going on in England is an earnest and carefully organized attempt, on the part of a rapidly-increasing body of priests and laymen, to bring our Church and country up to the full standard of Catholic Faith and practice, and eventually to plead for her union with you." (*pp.* 411, 12.)

These extracts need little comment, expressing as they do in the clearest and strongest of language, the deliberate determination of the Ritualists, years ago, to change anything and everything Protestant in the Church of England to a Popish type, with a view to ultimate reunion with Rome. Their success hitherto in a Romeward direction, and their still cherished hope of ultimate reunion, are thus stated in the *Church Times*, their leading organ:—
"Churches like St. Alban's, books like the 'Altar Manual,' the
" 'Priests' Prayer Book,' fully represent the most advanced post yet
" reached by the Catholic Revival in England, they *are not the*
" *ultimate goal.* The final aim, which alone will satisfy the Ritualists,
" is the reunion of Christendom, and the absorption of Dissent within
" the Church. Nothing short of that will be enough." Is it then, with such facts before us, we ask, the duty of those who love and value the priceless blessing of a Reformed Church, to stand by, in apathy and indifference, while the poison of Popery is instilled into her whole body of doctrine and ritual by Ritualistic inoculation?

APPENDIX.

THE PLAN OF THE RITUALISTIC CAMPAIGN.

"The address of Dr. Pusey to the members of the English Church Union at their last monthly meeting is one of considerable significance, and fraught with most important lessons for the present time. It is, simply, a formal declaration of War. War against unbelief, against coldness, against timidity, against all which goes to make up that form of religionism which dignitaries call safe and the *Times* calls English. *War then it shall be.* But, that point once settled, the question is, *What shall be the tactics by which the campaign shall be conducted?* Twenty, or even ten years ago the inquiry would have been very different. Then, it would have been, Who will be the leader, who will go out against the Goliath of Protestantism and be champion for cowering Israel? *Now*, the former demoralization, engendered by centuries of apathy and ignorance is vanishing, and *there is no lack of warriors, but dicipline and strategy have been but imperfectly mastered*, and there is a consequent waste of effort in many cases, if not an actual check.

"The advice of Dr. Pusey is this: Let no further advances be made for the present, but all attention be concentrated in *fortifying the position already attained*, and in completing the military education of the Church's army. This is the method by which Russia has pushed her way so steadily and permanently into the far East. A fort is erected in the enemy's country, with clear lines of communication back to the basis of supply. A village of soldier-colonists gathers round the fort, and civilians follow where a market springs up. When the post has been Russianized it becomes, in its turn, the base line of operation, and another fort is thrown out some score of miles in advance, and the process is repeated, until, as we have seen, Khokan, Bokhara, and the neighbouring territories are in a fair way to be as Slavonic as Kazen and Perm. But two rules are inexorably maintained. No fort is erected at a dangerous distance from the base line, and no non-combatants are allowed to be the pioneers of colonization. Exactly identical with this should be our policy.

"*Churches like St. Alban's, Holborn, and St. Lawrence's, Norwich*, books like the *Altar Manual*, the *Priest's Prayer Book*, and the *Church and the World*, fairly represent *the most advanced post yet reached* by the Catholic Revival in England. THEY ARE NOT THE ULTIMATE GOAL. THE FINAL AIM, WHICH ALONE WILL SATISFY THE RITUALISTS, IS THE REUNION OF CHRISTENDOM AND THE ABSORPTION OF DISSENT WITHIN THE CHURCH. Nothing short of that will be enough, but the magnitude of such an operation is so gigantic that nothing less than the application of enormous power can effect it. The guns of one fort, however great in calibre and however skilfully worked, will not supply the place of a whole siege-train, the hardy veterans of a forlorn hope are not enough to charge the whole army of Protestantism in position. To do so is magnificent, but it is not

war. And as we do not want merely badges of valour, but the full conquest of a vast territory, it is clear we must employ all the skill which genius or experience can give, till we have made a nation of soldiers of those timid bondsmen who, under long Philistine domination, have had neither sword nor shield for their defence, and have had to seek the grudging leave of their tyrants for even so much use of iron as would enable them to prepare the soil for a scanty and precarious harvest.

"This, then, is the thing to do. Let the advanced posts remain as they are. Let each of those which is a little behind, and only a little, gradually take up the same position, and let this process be carried on (only without haste or wavering) down to the last in the chain. *A story is told of a dishonest baker* who kept himself and his family in meat at a nominal cost by purchasing the very smallest leg of mutton to be had, and exchanging this for the next in size sent him by his customers, and repeating the process until he had succeeded in obtaining nearly twenty pounds of meat for his original six or seven, without any one customer being able to detect the fraud in his own case. *The cheating baker may point a parable as the Unjust Steward has done.* Where there is only the ordinary parish routine, but where the preaching is honest and sound, *let a gradual change be brought in.* A choral service, so far as Psalms and Canticles are concerned, on some week-day evening, will train people to like a more ornate worship, and that which began as an occasional luxury, will soon be felt a regular want. Where there is monthly communion, let it be fortnightly; where it is fortnightly, let it be weekly; where it is weekly, let a Thursday office be added. Where all this is already existing, candlesticks with unlighted candles may be introduced. Where these are already found, they might be lighted at Evensong. Where so much is attained, the step to lighting them for the Eucharistic Office is not a long one. Where the black gown is in use in the pulpit on Sundays, let it disappear in the week. The surplice will soon be preferred, and will oust its rival. It is easy for each reader to see how some advance, all in the same direction, can be made, and that without any offence taken. Only two things should be most carefully observed as a rule. First of all, nothing should be introduced without a plain and frank statement to the people. Secondly, the *innovations ought to be confined at first, to extra services, put on for this very purpose."—Leading article from the* Church Times, *the acknowledged organ of the Ritualists.—March* 30, 1867.

We now see what the Romanizers are avowedly aiming at—SUBMISSION TO ROME, and what their plan of operation. If, after this open declaration of a dishonest, jesuitical, and unprincipled design to Romanize our Church, Englishmen allow their blood-bought liberties to be taken from them, either from apathy or empty confidence, they will deserve to lose them.

To be obtained at the Office of the CHURCH ASSOCIATION, 14, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C., at the price of 5*d* per dozen, or 3*s* per 100.

38th Thousand.]

DEAN BURGON'S LETTER TO CANON GREGORY.*

No one can be familiar with the public utterances of Dean Burgon, touching the religious controversies of the day, without a deep feeling of admiration for his great talent for controversy, his theological learning, his noble candour, and his unshaken and unimpeachable loyalty to the Protestant Church of England, though he has never repudiated his avowed attachment to the High Church party in the Church of England. With Bishop Wordsworth Dean Burgon raised his voice years ago against the aggressive and unscrupulous dishonesty of the Ritualistic party. They foretold the goal of their aims, and events have amply justified their predictions "Claim leads to claim, and power advances power."

The tone of Dean Burgon's letter of friendly remonstrance, addressed to Canon Gregory, is more than justified by the facts of the case. But this is its *intrinsic* value, rather than its *relative* value. In relation to the Church Association, and the great party it represents in the Church of England, its value as an influential vindication of the principles of the Church Association, and as a testimony to the justification of the action taken by the Association, cannot be well overrated.

This letter virtually echoes and re-echoes every warning we have given for fourteen years, against the perils to which the Church of England was being exposed by the toleration of Ritualism amongst her Clergy and people. It exposes, almost *totidem verbis*, the dishonesty, the jesuitry, and the disloyalty of the Ritualists to the constitution of the Church of England, to its principles, and

* Canon Robert Gregory—A Letter of Friendly Remonstrance, by John William Burgon, B.D., Dean of Chichester. London: Longmans, 1881. Price 1*s.*

its practices as formulated in her formularies, and as interpreted by the ruling of the highest tribunals and judges, and of authorities civil and ecclesiastical. It shows beyond all shadow of doubt that Ritualism is simply Popery, which a Protestant Church cannot tolerate without self-destruction, and without self-stultification, as certain consequences of a policy, guided either by blind folly or far-seeing treason. Its logical consequence is, that as there is no *historical* standing-place in the Church of England since the Reformation for the "Catholic" party, as the Ritualists call themselves,—for their party not only does not belong to the historical High Church party in the Church, as it is ignored and condemned by that great historical party as strenuously as it is condemned by the great Evangelical party, which has always held a place, and for the most part the chief place, in the continuity of the Church of England,—it becomes clear that no place whatever can be found for the Ritualistic party, either in the past history of the Protestant Reformation Church of England, or for its principles, which were eliminated from the Service Book and the Articles of the Church of England, at the time of the Reformation.

These points, however, will best be illustrated by the following quotations from Dean Burgon's pamphlet. Here then is his own account of his churchmanship :—

"Not ashamed am I to avow that my Churchmanship is of that old-fashioned type which approved itself to Andrewes and Hooker, Sanderson and Cosin, Taylor and Laud, Bull and Pearson, Beveridge and Butler;—a kind of Churchmanship with which *that* of your 'Ritualistic' friends seems to have wondrous little in common. I derived it traditionally, forty years ago, from those who were then accounted Churchmen of the loftiest and most learned type. But a change has come over the Church of England since that time." (p. 3.)

Dean Burgon not only treats the Ritualists as distinct from the High Church party, but as distinct from the Anglican Tractarian party of forty years ago, and contrasts the two in the following passages :—

"A calamitous change, I say, has come over the English Church since then. I am often reminded of the oracular saying of my illustrious kinsman, Hugh James Rose, that 'the next great conflict of the Church of England will be *with Romanism*.' Singular to relate, a claim is set up by the self-styled 'Ritualists' of the present day to represent the great Catholic movement which I have been describing. But their claim is observed to collapse hopelessly under every test.

The Anglican Revival of forty years ago was above all things marked by the spirit of *Humility* in which it was conducted. At the mere 'advice' of the Diocesan, a famous Series of Tracts which had proceeded as far as the 90th number was by the leader of the party instantly discontinued (Note). *We* at this day behold a faction consisting chiefly of unlearned and undistinguished men, with whom *disregard for Authority* is even a characteristic feature. Their undutiful attitude towards their Bishops is matter of public notoriety. For 'sobriety,' read extravagance, wilfulness, eccentricity,—and their method has been aptly indicated. As for the 'Anglicanism' of the party, let the most eloquent of our Bishops be allowed to declare how the case actually stands. 'No one can deny,' (he says,)—'the most advanced members of the party do not themselves care to deny—that it is in its latest development marked by a close and even servile imitation of all the minutest details of Roman Catholic ceremonials; a hankering after Romish Theology and Romish forms of private devotion; in almost childish affectation of all the most Romish modes of thought and forms of expression; in short, as they themselves express it, by a "deferential" "Latinizing" of our Church: and to such an extent, that one might not unfairly suppose that the one aim of such persons is to make themselves, in all respects, as like Romish priests as possible, and their greatest happiness to be mistaken for such: and that the accusation which they would most keenly resent would be that they were capable of supposing that on any point whatever on which the Church of England differs from that of Rome, she can by any possibility be in the right.' (Note p. 6.) The self-styled 'Ritualistic' party of these last days is in fact a purely *Sectarian* body. They might reasonably claim to be designated as '*Congregational* Christians.' The men talk, reason, act, like separatists. They would have been disowned by 'Churchmen' of every age and every school—I may add, and of every clime—from the beginning until now." (pp. 5, 6, 7.)

"And it may not be pretended that the preceding is an exceptional utterance, or that it exhibits a prejudiced view of the case. I proceed to remind you of what were the very last words publicly spoken by the greatest of modern Prelates, Bishop Wilberforce—whom no one ever yet suspected of Puritanical narrowness, or accused of want of sympathy with those of his Clergy who had rushed into the opposite extreme. Only four days before his lamented death, addressing the Rural Deans of his Diocese at Winchester House (July 15, 1873),—after calling attention to the 'growing desire' in certain quarters 'to introduce novelties, such as incense, a multitude of lights in the chancel, and so on,'—Bishop Wilberforce said,—

"'Now these, and such things as these, are honestly and truly alien to the Church of England. Do not hesitate to treat them as such. All this appears to me to indicate a fidgety anxiety to make everything in our Churches assimilate to a foreign usage. There is a growing feeling, which I can only describe as an "ashamedness" of the Anglican Church; as if our grand old Anglican communion contrasted unfavourably with the Church of Rome. The habitual language held by many men sounds as if they were ashamed of our Church and its position. It is a sort of apology for the Church of England, as compared with the Church of Rome. Why, I SHOULD AS SOON THINK OF APOLOGIZING FOR THE VIRTUE OF MY MOTHER TO A HARLOT! I have no sympathy in the world with such a feeling. I abhor this fidgety desire to make everything un-Anglican. This is not a grand development, as some seem to think. It is a decrepitude. It is not something very sublime and impressive, but something very feeble and contemptible.'" (pp. 7, 8.)

"Yes, it is something 'very feeble and contemptible' indeed. But, in fact, it is a worse thing than *that*, or we could afford to pass it by in silence, with pity or with contempt. It is *treasonable* as well. Not only are Principles now freely taught, which, forty years ago, would have been rejected with abhorrence by all respectable persons;—not only have Practices crept in which, at the time I speak of, were not so much as known among professing Churchmen;—not only is Phraseology in vogue which is essentially Romish; as when the Celebration of Holy Communion is familiarly spoken of as 'High' and 'Low Mass':—but no attempt is any longer made by the more advanced of the party to conceal the Romeward tendency of their practices and their teaching. They even glory in their treasonable intention." (p. 8.)

"'The work going on in England,' (said an organ of the party in 1867,) 'is an earnest and *carefully organized attempt* on the part of a rapidly-increasing body of Priests and laymen, to bring our Church and country up to the full standard of Catholic faith and practice, and eventually to plead for her union with "Rome."' 'The "*Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament*" holds its Anniversary Services naturally on Corpus Christi Day. To it we must, in the course of time, look for agitating the *restoration of the Perpetual Presence*—at present, unhappily, not provided for in our Church Laws—and the *Establishment of the Perpetual Adoration of that Presence*.' 'We give our people *the fact,—the real doctrine of the Mass*, first: the name will come of itself gradually.' 'I am confident that in a few years' time there will be found a body of men in the Church of England, who for their zeal *in the true cultus of our Lady* will bear comparison with any in the whole of Catholic Christendom.' But 'we shall only be able to establish this by slow and cautious steps.' 'We hope soon to start an order of *Preaching friars*.' 'We have only to' do so, 'and we may be sure Catholicism will spread among the masses.' 'Twenty years hence, Catholicity will have so leavened our Church, that she herself in her corporate capacity will be able to come to [the Church of Rome] and say, "Let the hands which . . . have been parted these three hundred years be once more joined."' Dr. F. G. Lee—in 'Sermons' preached a few weeks since at All Saints', Lambeth, and dedicated to Cardinals Manning and Newman—remarks that 'it seems to many that the Doctrine of *the Immaculate Conception of our Blessed Lady* is but the due and reasonable complement of the *θεοτόκος* of Ephesus: and that *the sublime Syllabus of the late Holy Father* (Pope Pius IX) is identical in principle with that of the Creed of St. Athanasius.' 'In the Church of GOD, there is a true growth . . . *the Office of the Blessed Virgin in* GOD'S *system of Grace*, being a signal example of such a Divine growth.' 'Rites long ago cast out and scoffed at are now painfully restored, the sacred sign is drawn anew, the *Angelus* sung as of yore; and with some lean and half-starved souls there exists a reasonable desire to recover *those last Sacraments* which were so impiously and cruelly abolished.' The writer hopes for fellow-citizenship 'wheresoever the names of JESUS *and Mary* are venerated.' In an earlier volume, he had complained,—'The marvel is that Roman Catholics, whatever their views may be, do not see the wisdom of aiding us to the utmost . . . We are doing for England that which they cannot do. We are teaching men to believe that GOD is to be worshipped under the form of bread; and they are learning a lesson from us which they have refused to learn from the Roman teachers who have been

amongst us for the last 300 years. On any hypothesis, *we are doing their work.*'" (pp. 8-10.)

"Now, in the face of what goes before, I submit that I was quite within the mark when, the other day, I expressed myself on the general subject as follows:—'I will set the Memorialists'—(meaning thereby yourself and your co-signatories)—'an example of candour, by plainly avowing that the reason why I regard the demands of the (so-called) "Ritualists" with entire disfavour, is *because I find it impossible to divest myself of the conviction that what the leaders of the party chiefly aim at is the introduction into our Reformed Church of England of something undistinguishable from the* ROMISH *Mass.*'" (pp. 10, 11.)

As to the question of tolerating Popery in the form of Ritualism, as Canon Gregory virtually proposed to do, Dean Burgon remarks:—

"Now, this can only mean that it shall be clearly notified by the Bishops to the Clergy and their congregations, that henceforth they are at liberty to introduce into their Churches just whatever extravagances of Ritual they please. Your proposed 'Remedy' for the irregularities which are just now disturbing the peace of the Church, is therefore not so much that they shall be '*tolerated,*' as that they shall be *encouraged.* And it requires no prophet to predict that in this particular case the 'Remedy' would prove a far worse thing than the disease. The plain truth is, you suggest *no* '*remedy*' *at all*: but, (if words mean anything,) you give the Primate to understand that you are yourself on the side of the law-breakers. *That*—to speak plainly—is the upshot of your (so-called) 'Address for Toleration.'" (p. 13.)

"And you must excuse me for telling you plainly that it appears to me (and to thousands besides myself) either—(1) Singularly ungenerous and unfair,—or else (2) Peculiarly unbecoming, not to say impertinent,—so to approach the Bishops of the Church at this time. For,

"(1) You know very well that Toleration is *already* so conspicuous a feature of the Church of England, that no Church, no sect in Christendom can be compared with it for the amount of license accorded to its accredited Teachers. 'Is there any Communion in Christendom' (asked the Bishop of Lincoln) 'in which more true liberty is enjoyed than in the Church of England?' In the department of 'Ritual,' Toleration *already* prevails to such an extent that you would find it difficult to discover two considerable Churches where the Ritual is identical: far easier would it be to point out two which are so widely dissimilar in their method that *one* might be mistaken for a meeting-house and the other for a Romish place of worship. As for 'our Ecclesiastical superiors,' they are notoriously so lenient,—have for a long time past shown such unexampled 'toleration and forbearance in dealing with questions of Ritual,'—that they are alternately reviled by extreme men of either party, while they are freely charged by the great mass of lookers-on with culpable indifference, or else held up to public contempt for seeming to take a side. For *you* therefore to urge upon them toleration and forbearance—as if you were addressing men confessedly *un*forbearing and *in*tolerant,—is clearly an unjust as well as ungenerous proceeding. Do you mean to say that you desire from them in the exercise of their Episcopal function a *more* 'tolerant recognition of divergent ritual practice' than they actually exhibit?" (pp. 13, 14.)

The Dean puts the real issue of the case in this way:—

"The real point at issue, as you are perfectly aware, is,—whether, in defiance of the Formularies and Articles of the Church of England, her Clergy are at liberty now, at the end of 300 years and upwards, to *assimilate to the Romish model the Ritual and the Furniture of the Church wherein they have been appointed to minister. That* is the *only* question at issue! To divert attention from this, to so irrelevant a matter as *excess and defect in respect of Rubrical conformity;* and to insinuate that the sum of the 'Ritualists'' offence is their superabundant religious zeal,—is scarcely an ingenuous proceeding. The anxiety felt at this time by 'our Ecclesiastical superiors' (as you call them), is, *for the maintenance of purity of Doctrine within this our Church of England.* And certainly, the teaching which of late has come in like a flood, is the reverse of 'pure;' is corrupt in a high degree. 'We observe with increasing anxiety and alarm,'—(it was the statement publicly made by *our collective Episcopate* in 1875,)—'the dissemination of Doctrines, and encouragement of Practices, repugnant to the teaching of Holy Scripture, and to the principles of the Church, as derived from Apostolic times, and as authoritatively set forth at the Reformation. More especially' are we made uneasy by 'the multiplication and assiduous circulation of manuals' inculcating 'Doctrines and Practices wholly incompatible with the teaching and principles of our Reformed Church.' Private admonition and public entreaty having proved unavailing to check the mischief complained of, recourse is had, in the last resort,—*not however by the Bishops,* but by certain of the Laity, to an appeal to Law. And since the only way of testing the legality of what is done during Divine Service is to fasten definitely on something supposed to be unauthorized by or opposed to a Rubric of the Church, the contention of necessity assumes the form of a *Rubrical* discussion. But this is *accident* only. The essence of the matter—the *true* 'gravamen'—as already explained, belongs to a far more serious province of inquiry." (pp. 20-1-2.)

On the *lawless* character of the Ritualistic sect, on which the Church Association has always insisted, Dean Burgon says:—

"The truth is, there underlies this entire movement a spirit of utter insubordination, of mere lawlessness—an unchristian 'refusal to obey legitimate authority,' (as the Bishops in their collective Pastoral, phrase it,)—which must convince any attentive observer that *no* Court, which by human wit could ever be devised, would prove satisfactory—*to the law-breakers.* Not only (say the Bishops) do Clergymen 'fail to render to Episcopal authority that submission which is involved in the idea of Episcopacy, but obedience has been avowedly refused to the highest judicial intrepretations of this Church and Realm. Even the authority which *our Church* claims, as inherent in every particular or national Church, to ordain and change rites and ceremonies, has been questioned and denied.' But in fact, when our Clergy, who, at the most solemn moment of their lives, pledged themselves before GOD '*reverently to obey their Ordinary* and other chief ministers . . . . *following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions, and submitting themselves to their godly judgments;*'—when the Ministers of Religion, I say, repudiate this, their most solemn obligation, as well as violate this, their most sacred pledge;—it is clearly *not the constitution of* '*the Courts* by which Eccle-

siastical causes are decided in the first instance and on appeal,' which is in fault; but *the depraved Conscience* which needs enlightenment, and *the perverted Will* which requires to undergo a change." (pp. 24-5.)

"To recur however to your assurance, on behalf of the 'Ritualistic' Clergy, that they take their stand on '*the Law* of this Church and Realm';—demand only that they may be allowed 'such diversities of Ceremonial as are consistent with *a literal interpretation of the Rubrics*':—How then, let me ask, does it come to pass that so many of their practices are clear *violations* of the Rubrics? (*a*) How, for instance, does it come to pass that some insist on *kneeling* during the prayer of Consecration, though the Rubric orders them to *stand?* (*b*) Why, again, do they introduce the '*Agnus Dei*' into the Communion Service, although they solemnly pledged themselves at their Ordination to 'use the form prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer,' '*and none other*,'—alike 'in public Prayer' and in the Administration of the Sacraments'?" (p. 32.)

"Further,—(*c*) Why do these sticklers for Rubrical exactness overlook the plain command to begin the Service for Holy Communion 'standing at the *North*-side of the Table,'—('the North-side or end thereof,' as Archbishop Laud in the Scottish Book explains it)? (*d*) Why do some of them *omit the Ten Commandments?* (*e*) Some, the Exhortation expressly ordered *to be said 'at the time of the Celebration* of the Communion,—the Communicants being conveniently placed for the receiving of the Holy Sacrament'? (*f*) Some, *the latter part* of the prescribed formula at communicating?—(*g*) Why are they not careful at least to 'break the Bread *before the people*'? and (*h*) Why are they not scrupulous to deliver the Communion in both kinds '*into the hands*' of as many as communicate? Above all, (*i*) in face of the emphatic order that 'there shall be no Celebration of the LORD'S Supper, except there be a convenient number to communicate with the Priest';—that even, 'if there be not above twenty persons in the parish of discretion to receive the Communion, except four (or three at the least) communicate with' him;—*why*, I ask, in defiance of this plain order, do some of these sticklers for Rubrical exactness *communicate alone?* . . . It would be a weary proceeding to specify *all* the particulars wherein these persons set the Rubrics of the Church openly at defiance. I protest that on the few occasions when I have had the misfortune to be present at their Services, I have scarcely been able to understand what they were about, and could have supposed myself in some Continental Church." (pp. 32-3.)

Touching the plea urged by the Ritualists that vestments are calculated to promote reverence and solemnity in public worship." Dean Burgon is again at one with the Association :—

"But I meet you *in limine* with the reminder that your 'belief' in this matter,—(by which you *mean* your 'opinion,')—happens to run counter to what has been the fixed conviction of the Church of England for upwards of 300 years. The most becoming attire for the Spouse of CHRIST—like that of the sex to which we spontaneously yield our heart's homage—is not, we are persuaded, in GOD'S account, the gaudiest. There is nothing whatever of meanness, much less of ugliness,—least of all, of deformity—in a simple Ritual. As for carelessness neglect, sordid parsimony,—the things find *no* place here, and may not be so much

as talked of. You shall not misrepresent me. I will not be misunderstood in this matter. Let the material out of which every object is fabricated which appertains to the Service of the Sanctuary, be the best procurable for money. Every offering that is laid down before the footstool of the Most High,—let it be the most precious which earth can yield. But the result will not of necessity make *a show*. Quite consistent is vast self-sacrifice with a singularly unostentatious,—the very reverse of a gorgeous Ritual. A modest, a grave and dignified simplicity, may yet prove its characteristic—yes, and its most attractive—external grace. There is something *meretricious*—(I claim the right to call things by their Scripture names)—in the accessories of the Mass in countries under the Romish obedience, which is the exact reverse of what we of the Church of England chiefly desiderate in the Sanctuary of GOD. The method of *their* Service is in effect infinitely less *devotional* than our own." (pp. 44-5.)

"For, give me leave to remind you, there is a strange tendency in sensuous gaudery to distract attention,—to withdraw the mind from the unseen realities of Religion,—to interfere with the heart's devotion,—to impair the spirituality of Divine Service. Your friends may have persuaded themselves that gay dresses,—bright colours,—a multitude of lighted candles,—superabundant flowers,—genuflexions and crossings without end, besides incense *ad nauseam*,—all culminating in the 'Adoration of the Host' by a prostrate congregation;—that all this kind of thing would 'promote reverence and solemnity in Public Worship.' But (as already hinted,) it so happens that the Church of England *does not think so*.—You further anticipate that such practices would 'bring into greater prominence the celebration of the Holy Communion.' And so, no doubt, they would. But, they would do something else besides." (p. 45.)

"Recurring to your proposed 'limits' to Ritual exorbitancy,—I observe you offer us no security against a large class of Ritualistic irregularities which nevertheless (as you cannot fail to be aware) are at this moment occasioning grave offence, and even creating serious alarm. I allude to certain unlawful accretions to the Services of the Sanctuary, as well as to certain unlawful omissions therefrom. I allude to ceremonial acts and gestures—to *Practices* in short—which, if permitted, would compromise by their obvious significancy the purity of Divine Service just as much as any 'Ornaments' that can be named: yes, and *more*. (1) 'Adoration' of *that which may not be adored*;—(2) the elevation of the cup and the paten;—the rule, or even *the habitual practice* of non-communicating attendance;—(3) 'Masses' for the dead;—(4) Invocation of Saints;—(5) the *cultus* of the Blessed Virgin;—(6) genuflexions and crossings on occasions which, to say the least, call for the exhibition of neither;—(7) 'incensing' (suppose) at any reference to the Blessed Virgin Mary, or other of GOD's chiefest Saints:—need I go on? *Who* knows not that *signs* (like words) are significant of *things?* and that corrupt Doctrines may be as effectually inculcated by the devices I have been enumerating, as by the revival of Vestments and other 'Ornaments of the Church,' which were used in our Church until A.D. 1552—but have been disused ever since?" (p. 48.)

"But the problem assumes a wholly different aspect when, at the end of 329 years of eventful History, a proposal is deliberately made to bring back this *and every other* Ornament of the Church and of the Ministers thereof, which can be proved to have been in use in the year 1548. And why? Because, whatever Antiquarians may say about the symbolism of the 'Chasuble,'—(as, that it signifies

Charity, because it covers the entire person, and so forth,)—with *us* of the Church of England, THE 'CHASUBLE' is symbolical of nothing else but THE DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION. And this, since it is a plain fact, is simply decisive of the question as to the possibility of its re-introduction among ourselves, now, at the end of 329 years. The thing is simply *impossible*." (p. 64.)

"It is not merely that the solemn foppery, the effeminate passion for finery, the pitiful *millinery* of this new Sect is distasteful to me;—their coloured stoles, and strange surplices, and imported 'birettas,' and melo-dramatic gesticulations,—their sing-song prayers, and their gabbled lessons;—the combined result of all which things, is, to make the Services of GOD'S House, as *they* conduct them, no refreshment at all; but simply a weariness of the flesh and an exasperation of the spirit:—it is not for reasons like these, I say, that I avow my hostility to this foreign school. Still less is it from any Puritanical 'jealousy of beauty,' the fruit of 'ignorance,'—GOD knoweth!" (p. 69.)

"It is because I see plainly that the only logical result of such principles and such practices within the Church of England is to betray unstable souls into the hands of the Church of Rome: to sow the seeds of division and dissension among our own people: to destroy the peace of families: to violate the sanctity of households: to culminate in one more portentous Sect. Not least of all, I am persuaded that this proposed substitute for the Religion of our fathers,—the disloyal and dishonest adoption (I mean) of tenets and practices from which our Church was by GOD'S grace purged at the Reformation, and which she now either clearly disallows or else implicitly condemns,—is a sorry, an unreal, an unspiritual kind of thing." (p. 69, 70.)

In the following strain Dean Burgon laments the growth of Ritualism as a new schism, and its baneful consequences, political and religious:—

"But I freely admit that I mourn,—mourn deeply,—at the sight of Union with the other Churches of Christendom rendered more than ever hopeless, while divisions and dissensions are being needlessly multiplied among ourselves. I behold with dismay the ghastly up-growth of one more Sect—one more Schism,—one fresh aspect of Nonconformity; and I mourn not least of all, because I see plainly that these mediæval extravagances are making, if they have not already made, reconciliation with our Wesleyan brethren a thing impossible. There is no telling in fact how fatal is this retrograde movement to the progress of real Churchmanship throughout the length and breadth of the land. 'Ritualism,' (for so *disloyalty to the Church* is absurdly called,) is the great difficulty with a surprising number of the Clergy in our large towns,—especially in the Northern Dioceses. The working people simply *hate* it. They will not listen to 'Church-Defence' while this ugly phantom looms before them. Hundreds are being driven by it into Dissent. 'I dare not call a Church-Defence Meeting in this town,' (writes an able and a faithful Incumbent:) 'it would be instantly turned into an anti-Ritualistic demonstration.' Thus, the cause of Christianity itself is suffering by the extravagances of a little handful of misguided men. They assume that their outlandish ways are 'Catholic;' whereas they are schismatical entirely,—the outcome of a lawless spirit, a morbid appetite, an undisciplined will. Indecent self-assertion

and undutiful disregard for lawful Authority are the most conspicuous notes of this new Sect." (pp. 73-4.)

"I will add,—(for the picture would be incomplete without it,)—that indications are not wanting that the new Religion fails to promote honesty, sincerity, candour, truthfulness of character. I am understating the matter. It would be terrible to draw out in detail the effect which these novel tenets and novel practices seem to have on the heart and on the life. *The sacredness of a pledge solemnly given*, seems to be no longer fully realized. *Equivocation of the most pitiful description* is freely resorted to. Things have come to a grave pass indeed with any religious body, when evidence is afforded of *their general disregard for Truth*." (pp. 74-5.)

Reprinted from the Church Association Monthly Intelligencer, July. 1881.

To be obtained at the Office of the Church Association, 14, Buckingham Street, Strand, London. By Subscribers, for distribution, free. By others, at the price of 8*d* per doz. or 4*s* 6*d* per 100.

10th Thousand.]

EXISTING TENDENCIES TO ENCROACH ON THE RIGHTS OF THE LAITY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PROPOSED ALTERATIONS IN THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS.

By I. P. FLEMING, M.A., D.C.L.

Paper read at the Conference of the Church Association, held at Exeter Hall, on the 2nd November, 1881.

HOW THE CHURCH HAS BEEN GOVERNED, &c.

The appointment of a Commission to "inquire into the Courts "created by 24 and 25 Henry VIII, and modified by succeeding "Statutes," has awakened curiosity, and excited apprehension. For many years past complaints have been seething among the disciples of a certain school of thought against the final Tribunal in Ecclesiastical Causes. Discontent with the judgments of the Privy Council, since the date of the Gorham controversy, has fed agitation; but the motive for it lies deeper. It is necessary to the success of an aggressive Sacerdotalism. This agitation has not been without advocates able and influential. Their weight has made itself felt. Publications and addresses have laboured to indoctrinate the public mind with the conviction that the Church is suffering from a grievance, and that the spirituality are defrauded of their rights. The persistent reiteration of the same assumptions, the same fallacies, the same misrepresentations of history either by omission, partial statement, or perversion of facts, has not been without effect.

Since this critical question of Church government in the past involves both the claims of the spirituality, and the rights of the laity, we propose to examine it in antagonism to certain positions laid down.

We confine our attention to three works which seem to constitute the text-books for most of the publications and addresses we meet with from the friends of the Church Union:

1. Mr. Gladstone's* "Essay on the Royal Supremacy," in the form of a letter to the Bishop of London, to be found in vol. v of his "Gleanings of Past Years."

2. Mr. Joyce's work on "The Civil Power in its Relations to the Church;" and

3. The Report of the Committee of the Lower House of Convocation on the Relations of Church and State, issued in July, 1879.

Two of these positions in his essay Mr. Gladstone states thus:†

"It would be easy, I apprehend, to show that until about the "accession of the House of Hanover, that is to say, for nearly two "centuries those two great rules of the policy of the English "Reformation were observed with substantial fidelity:

"1. That the Convocation should be the instrument of objection "for the doctrine of the Church.

"2. That the Ecclesiastical Law should be administered by "Ecclesiastical Judges."

What becomes of these propositions we shall see presently. As explained in his Essay we utterly dispute them.

One definite aim to vindicate the spirituality at the expense of the laity characterizes these three works. They are all vitiated by the same fundamental fallacies.

1. They affix their own meaning to such ambiguous terms as "*Reformation*," "*Church*." Their conceptions of these we cannot accept.

2. They ignore the Reformation *of Church doctrine*, and the great principle as well as the controlling influence of the Constitutional settlement of 1688.

3. They do not recognize the changes incident to our political progress, and the conditions due to a transition from a Personal to a Constitutional Monarchy.

4. They misrepresent the voice of history; and

5. They mislead the reader by the use of the word "Constitutional."

With respect to the word "*Reformation*"—with these writers there is a palpable abuse in its application. It signifies not merely the severance of the tie which bound us to Rome, but principally and mainly—*the Purification of Church doctrine*. They appear to restrict it to the former. We are bid to go back to certain Statutes of Henry, as Reformation Statutes. They are really nothing of the

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* "Gleanings of Past Years," by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. Murray, 1879.

"The Civil Power in its Relations to the Church," by James Wayland Joyce, M.A. Rivingtons, 1869.

"Convocation of the Lower House of the Province of Canterbury. Report of the Committee on Relations of Church and State," July, 1879. Wells Gardner, 12, Paternoster Buildings.

† "Gleanings, &c." vol. v, p. 234.

kind. The doctrine of the Church in matters of Faith was then unchanged. Henry might in Roman eyes be guilty of Schism. He eschewed what to them was Heresy. After these Statutes of the 24th and 25th years of his reign, the Statute of Six Articles enforcing Transubstantiation and Auricular Confession was passed. In 1536, the King put forth "the Declaration of Faith,"* containing a profession of Romish doctrines and practices. Queen Mary, too, on her accession, as a first step enacted that a return should be made to the form of worship as it was in the last year of Henry VIII.† The Reformation really in Henry's time had not commenced *within* the Church. The way was then being paved for it. It was simply a period of ecclesiastical and civil accommodation, temporary from circumstances. The first two years of Edward VI were *transitional*, and when the Mass with its altars, vestments, and its sacerdotal consequences—the great differentiating principle in worship betwixt ourselves and Rome was cast out in the year 1552, the Reformation of the Church of England was accomplished.

So with reference to the word "Church." By these writers it is assumed to mean the *spirituality only*. It is employed by them in the *Romish, not the Protestant* conception, according to our authorized definition. In their Report, the Committee of the Lower House of Convocation evidently imbibe this fallacy. In their rapid sketch, too brief for an adequate and impartial exposition of historical testimony, they occupy half a page‡ alone in their statement of the "Statute of Appeals" (24 Henry VIII, c. 12). This was at a time when the Church had not abated a jot of its Romish tenets, and it would seem as if this care had been taken about this Statute, to enforce upon our attention the doctrine it expresses, viz: "The body Spiritual of this realm having power, so "that when any case of law Divine happened to come in question, "or of spiritual learning it was declared, and interpreted by that "part of the body politic called the *spirituality*—now being "*usually called the English Church*," &c.

This may belong to the Sacerdotalism of a pre-reformation Church. It is unknown to the "Protestant Reformed Religion" now "established by law." The Church as defined by the Reformation is "a congregation§ of faithful men in which the pure word of "God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according "to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are "requisite to the same." Take the laity out of this conception, what would become of it? The introduction to Art. XX (although disputed), "that the Church hath power to decree rites and "ceremonies, and hath authority in controversies of Faith," is pointless as a controversial weapon; for by the definition, the Church is composed of both clergy and laity, and the Reformed

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* Collier, E. H. vol. ii, p. 122.

† Collier, E. H. vol. ii, p. 421.

‡ Report, L. H. Convoc. p. 20.

§ Art. XIX.

Church of England has been *continuously governed in accordance with her own definition.*

An examination of the Report of Convocation shows that the selection of a few facts out of many, and the mode of their presentation, are due to this pre-conceived theory as to the powers of the spirituality—a theory which the supply of omissions would dispose of. Why for instance, in describing Elizabeth's Act of Supremacy, do they omit, that the *sole qualification* of the Commissioners to be appointed under the Act to deal with all manner of ecclesiastical offences, Ritualistic or Doctrinal, "Heresies "and Schisms" included, was, that they were to be "*natural born* "*subjects*," without any preference to the spirituality whatever?

Instead of this, they emphasize the succeeding clause about "Heresy," to impress the reader that hereafter it should be "such "as should be determined by the High Court of Parliament, with "the assent of the clergy in Convocation." This of course came to pass when the Thirty-nine Articles were sanctioned by both bodies in 1562. The proviso does not really enhance the powers of Convocation in the least. It simply confirms what we maintain. The Church and nation were then co-extensive. It is not so now; but the rights of the laity of the Church then, are the rights of her laity now. The mode of dealing with matters as well as the matters themselves, is what we are considering.

But there is another important principle much lost sight of. The laws of a period must be regarded from the standpoint of their own period. It is perhaps too much the habit in these days to judge former times by our own—to ignore the transition from a Personal to a Constitutional Monarchy, and to view the events of such reigns as those of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I by light reflected from the reign of Victoria. What is illegal now was not illegal then. Nor can we understand why acts and measures in such a reign as that of Henry VIII, when the King's proclamation had the force of law, should be regarded as "*constitutional*," and others of succeeding monarchs — Tudor or Stuart — as "*high-* "*handed* and *tyrannical*." We shall show, however, that a recognition of the rights of the laity, as a principle regulates the whole of the machinery of Church government since the Reformation, even back from the date to which this Royal Commission is restricted.

The Courts, then, as created by the Statutes 24 and 25 Henry VIII have not only been modified *directly* by succeeding Statutes, but also in*directly* by historical circumstances.

They were affected by—1. The settlement of the Reformation; 2. The unsettlement of the Reformation; 3. The resettlement of the Reformation; 4. The High Prerogative of the Crown; 5. The Act of Supremacy of Elizabeth; 6. The alteration in the character and definition of the Church; 7. The settlement of doctrine in 1562; 8. The Statutes of the Reformation; 9. the Constitutional

Settlement of 1688; and the *Constitutional Compacts*, which are utterly ignored by the writers we refer to.

During the reign of Victoria a new Church—professedly Church of England—has been in process of evolution from a mediæval consciousness. It has grown in spite of all efforts to vindicate honesty and law; partly through the supineness of some "guardians of the Faith;" partly through the advantageous accidents in life of some of its foremost promoters, whether in social position or ability; and partly from the fact that new congregations have been formed out of the raw material which abounds in a country so densely populated as our own—congregations ignorant of the true history of the Church of England, and only cognizant of what they have been taught respecting it. Other causes might be assigned in a philosophic retrospect. When the champions of this retrograde school come to us, insisting that they are on the lines of the Reformation itself, and talk to us of the Church being oppressed, and having been deprived of what she has never had over her—Sacerdotal Supremacy—we protest in the name of truth, fearlessly asserting that history negatives the statement, and that as laymen we resist this tendency to trench upon our rights.

We propose to closely examine two important sections of ecclesiastical history, emphatically quoted to us in support of clerical supremacy, but which we adduce as proving incontestably our counter propositions. We allude to that compilation of Ecclesiastical law called the "Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum," originated by the Statute 25 Henry VIII, continued through the reign of Edward VI, finished in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, but never sanctioned by the legislature; and secondly, the constitution and working of Ecclesiastical Commissions from the accession of Elizabeth down to the Great Constitutional Settlement.

We have in these two the principles of the legislative and judicial functions, and how they were exercised.

First, with respect to the "Reformatio Legum:"—

Mr. Joyce truly and fairly says, that "that compilation of "Ecclesiastical law which we owe to the Reformation, though never "rendered valid, can still be appealed to as a witness of the opinion "and thought of the period." Again,* "Though this work never "received such sanctions as to render its contents legally binding, "yet it is of use in showing what were the sentiments of our "Reformers; what were the regulations which they thought "expedient for the Church's and nation's welfare; and what would "have been the authoritative rules for the decision of Ecclesiastical "questions, if their principles had been fairly and finally carried "out." We agree with him.

This compilation is dwelt upon in the line of argument for two reasons:—(1) To derive a plea for the spirituality from the

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* Joyce, "English Synods," p. 376.

composition of the Commission itself; (2) Because, according to the "Reformatio Legum," the course of jurisdiction should be from the Bishop's court to the Archbishop's, from his to the Crown; and then, as Mr. Joyce says,* "these words are put into the "sovereign's mouth. 'And when the cause shall have been "referred hither we desire to conclude it by a provincial synod, if "it is an important case, by three or four Bishops to be appointed "by us for the purpose.'"†

"Putting words into the sovereign's mouth" and the sovereign uttering them are two very different things. Why this "Reformatio "Legum" failed to pass the legislature in 1571 we know not. It is supposed that the minuteness of the discipline was regarded as vexatious. One thing is certain, had it engaged the serious attention of Parliament, such a proposal could scarcely have survived, for it is utterly counter to the *spirit of the Act of Supremacy*.

Even admitting, for the sake of argument, the possibility of such a course on appeal (subject to this code of laws ecclesiastical), the Church would never have suffered from the difficulties which beset it now. Under this very section (*De Hœresibus*) from which Mr. Joyce quotes, we find most striking testimony to the doctrine of the Reformation, in direct and utter *condemnation of all Ritualistic teaching*. The title of c. 19 is "De Transubstantiatione, et "*impanatione* ut vocant corporis Christi."‡

A perusal of this chapter will reward the reader. It will show that, whatever the constitution of the Court,—overruled by such laws, the existence of all our difficulties arising from the perversion of Eucharistic doctrine would be *impossible*, and the teaching of Dr. Lee and others far less pronounced would be unequivocally *condemned as heretical* with its consequences.

But the other great reason why we are referred to the "Re-"formatio Legum" is to impress us with the constituent elements of the Commission appointed to frame the work. The Statute 25 Henry VIII enacted that a Commission of thirty-two—sixteen clerical and sixteen lay—should undertake the task.

Mr. Gladstone says§:—"The persons actually appointed under

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* Joyce, "Sword and Keys," p. 62.

† "Reformatio Legum," c. 11.

‡ Cardwell's "Reform. Leg.," p. 18. We cannot with limited space do more than give two short quotations: "denique nullam relinquimus majorem eucharistiæ venerationem quam baptismi et verbi Dei."

Again—"De Sacramentis:" c. 6, p. 32. "In præficiendis Ecclesiarum Ministris (quales sunt, diaconi, *presbyteri* et episcopi) ceremoniam manuum imponendarum retineri placet." So in treating of the officers of the Church, we have, "De ædituis," "De Diaconis," "De Presbyteris," "De Archipresbyteris sive decanis ruralibus," "De Archidiaconis," &c. Nowhere have we "De Sacerdotio," or "De Sacerdotibus!"

§ "Royal Suprem.," vol. v. "Gleanings," p. 185.

"Edward VI may be found in Collier's 'Appendix,' * No. lxi. "They were seventeen of the clergy with eight lawyers and six "civilians." It is not so. Collier gives sixteen of the clergy, seven civilians, and eight lawyers. But his list is imperfect in two particulars—a missing name and a change of name. Mr. Joyce, with more judgment, quotes the full list from Strype's "Cranmer:"† "Eight Bishops, eight divines, eight civilians, and eight lawyers," sixteen clerical and sixteen lay. Among these eight divines, moreover, in both lists of Strype and Collier, is the name of John Alasco, the pastor of a foreign Reformed church in London, and not a member at all of the Church of England! We are curious as to what Sacerdotalists can make of this fact?

But there is another detail about this work which both Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Joyce omit to mention. A sub-committee of eight members—two from each section—prepared the work.‡ Lest they should be straitened for time, Parliament gave the King three years longer. In February, 1551, a letter was sent from the Council to make a new Commission . . . according to the Act of Parliament passed in the last session.

Heylyn§ tells us about this Act of Parliament. He says "The "other of the said two Acts (3 Edw. VI) was for enabling the "King to nominate eight Bishops, as many Temporal Lords, and "sixteen members of the Lower House of Parliament, for reviewing "of such Canons and Constitutions as remained in force by virtue "of the Statute made in the 25th year of the late King Henry, and "fitting them for the use of the Church in all times succeeding."

Thus the law then provided that *twenty-four lay-members* and *eight clerical* should undertake the work!

The second critical historical disquisition upon which Sacerdotalists rest their pleas is the composition and working of Ecclesiastical Commissions from the accession of Elizabeth downwards. Their statements before us are disposed of by the logic of facts. But there is more important matter wrapped up in the review than these writers care to mention.

Mr. Gladstone asserts‖:—"The most important functions of the "Ecclesiastical Judicature connected with the State were discharged "from the Reformation till the Great Rebellion by the Court of "High Commission. We are told that during the Tudor period "these Commissions were not enrolled in Chancery, 'lest their law-"fulness should be impugned upon such a publication' (Brodie's "British Empire, i, 157). It may therefore be difficult to ascer-"tain exactly what the composition of this Court may have been "on each occasion of its appointment. But this detail is hardly

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* Collier, "Ecc. Hist.," vol. ii, p. 71.

† Strype's "Cranmer," folio, p. 271.

‡ Strype, *ut supra*.

§ Heylyn, "Hist. Ref.," p. 83 (folio).

‖ "Royal Suprem." vol. v. "Gleanings," p. 264.

"necessary, inasmuch as we know that it was always regarded as "the great engine of Episcopal oppression by the opposite party, "which clearly shows what influence predominated in it. Neal "mentions its even meeting at Lambeth. Strype names twenty-"eight of the persons in the Commission of 1576. Of these ten "appear to be bishops, six other clergy, eight civilians, four judges "and officers of state. *But the enumeration is incomplete.* With "the Court of High Commission in 1640 fell the original juris-"diction of the Crown in matters ecclesiastical. It had originally "been exceptional according to Lord Coke, and the power given to "appoint it had reference to the peculiar crisis in the Church at "the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth. The words of the "Bill of Rights seem to imply that when legal it was uncon-"stitutional."

Again :—"In the first High Commission* of Queen Elizabeth of "which the *exact composition* I understand, is *not on record*, "there must have been a deviation from the principle (*i.e.* of "clerical preponderance), because, as Lord Coke observes, it was "appointed for a special purpose, and by way of exception, viz. to "get rid of those bishops who would not take the Oath of Supre-"macy in conformity with the proceedings, founded on the Acts of "Convocation under Henry—Acts which had never been canonically "reversed."

The whole of this is wrong, or misleading, depriving the paper and all utterances founded upon it of any confidence.

With the exception of Neal's statement which supports our case, there is not a *single statement* which will fairly endure the test of facts. So far from "the first High Commission being lost and "the exact composition not being on record," the reverse is the case. Mr. Gladstone appears to confound the first two Commissions issued in 1559; one for visitation (24 June, 1559),† the other a High Commission for Ecclesiastical causes, with the sweeping powers conferred by the Act of Supremacy (19 July, 1559). We however possess *both in extenso* with *the exact composition of each.* More than that, we have a collection of all the Commissions of this nature, we believe, extant, issued during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I, within a few years of the Act of 1641,‡ which abolished the Court of High Commission, sixteen to eighteen in all, with the names, titles, and styles of all the members, except in two or three cases, which are imperfect in this respect. Of these the Commission of 1576, to which Mr. Gladstone refers, is *singularly enough* one.

The Commission§ for Visitation had something more to do than

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* "Royal Suprem.," p. 234.

† Cardwell's "Doc. Ann." vol. i, pp. 217, 223. ‡ 11 Charles I.

§ In the Visitation of St. Paul's, London, we learn among other things :—

"The visitors also enjoined them that they should take care that the Cathedral Church should be purged and freed from all and singular their images, idols, and altars 'et in loco ipsorum altarium ad providendam mensam decentem in ecclesiâ

deprive the Marian bishops and clergy for refusing to take the oath, according to the Act of Supremacy of Elizabeth, not "the "Acts of Convocation of Henry VIII." Among other things they removed altars and popish accessories of worship at St. Paul's and elsewhere.

The Commission* for the Northern parts, which we have fully on record, consisted of thirteen laymen and *one* clergyman.

The Visitors† for the Dioceses of Oxford, Lincoln, Peterborough, Coventry, and Lichfield; laymen, three nobles ("and divers other "nobles"); two knights ("and divers other knights and esquires"); two lawyers, and *two* clergymen.

The Visitors for the Welsh Dioceses:—The Lord President of Wales ("and divers others of the laity"), one lawyer, and *three* clergymen.

The Visitors for the Dioceses of Sarum, Bristol, Exeter, Bath and Wells, and Gloucester:—Three laymen ("with many others"), and *one* clergyman.

The Visitors for the Dioceses of Norwich and Ely:—Two nobles, "with many others;" four knights, "with many others;" two lawyers, and *one* clergyman.

The Visitors for London:—Two lawyers, and one clergyman, or it may be two clergymen, and one lawyer.

The Visitors for Cambridge and Eton:—Three lay and five clerical.

Collier‡ notes the feature of the lay element thus:—

"Among these fourteen Commissioners (for the Northern parts) "there was never a clergyman except Sandys." Mr. Gladstone says:—"with the Court of High Commission in 1640 fell the "original jurisdiction of the Crown in matters Ecclesiastical."

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pro celebratione cœnæ Domini ordinariâ,' *i.e.*, and in place of those altars to provide a decent Table in the Church for the ordinary celebration of the Lord's Supper. They ministered their injunctions in writing and delivered them to Saxby . . . . commanding and enjoining him (with Dean and Chapter), to observe those injunctions and they further enjoined and gave in command that none in the said Cathedral Church henceforth use 'aliquibus coronis rasis, amiciis aut vestibus vocatis' 'le coopes,' *i.e.*, any shaven crowns, amices, or clothes called copes. The contumacious they deprived."—*Strype, Ann. Ref.*, vol. i, pt. 1, 251, 252.

* Cardwell's "Doc. Ann.," vol. i, p. 217.

† Strype's "Ann. Ref.," vol. ii, pt. 1, p. 247.

‡ Collier's "Ecc. Hist.," vol. ii, p. 435. Among these fourteen Commissioners (*partibus borealibus*) there is never a clergyman excepting Sandys, unless Harvey, Doctor of Law, was in orders, which is somewhat unlikely. Notwithstanding this, any two of them are authorized to visit all cathedral, collegiate and parochial churches; and all degrees of the clergy, the bishops not excepted. They are empowered to examine them upon the articles of their belief, the qualification of their learning, and their behaviour as to morals. And in case they find them defective, heterodox, or irregular to proceed against them by imprisonment or ecclesiastical censures. Further, their Commission empowers them to deliver new

The Act of 1641* abolishing the Court of High Commission *only* repealed those clauses of the Act of Supremacy empowering *it*. It did not touch the Royal Supremacy† "over all causes and persons "ecclesiastical and civil within these dominions," but only this *mode of its exercise.*

Lord Coke‡ says;—"It was resolved by all the Judges that if "this Act (of Supremacy) had never been made the king or queen "for the time being might have made such a Commission by the "Prerogative and Law of England." The words of the Bill of Rights do not seem to imply that "even when legal the Court was unconstitutional." The clause asserts the illegality of the Commission *which James II issued in* 1586, *in defiance of the Act of Charles* which abolished it, and says, "all other Commissions and "Courts of a *like nature* are illegal and pernicious."§

Nor does there appear warrant for the statement that the public opinion regarded such Commissions "as engines of Episcopal "oppression"—Ecclesiastical oppression possibly, because it was an Ecclesiastical Court. Recognizing all influence due to their position, office, and duty, the use of the word "Episcopal" in this connection implies nothing as to a *numerical majority of clerical members* on the Commission. Discontent with the High Commission arose simply from the fact that the *procedure not the jurisdiction* of the Court was objected to. The examination of the accused upon oath to clear himself was a principle and practice at variance with those of the common law.

The history of these Commissions is interesting. They extend in some cases from twenty to twenty-six folio columns each. The impression that they only embraced such matters as now fall within the province of the Probate and Divorce Courts is *without the slightest foundation.* The wording of the Commissions, and above all the twenty-four Inquisitorial Articles compiled by the Commissioners in 1583‖ show how completely they dealt with every kind of ritual and other ecclesiastical offence.

The composition as to membership of these Commissions shows the *great rule of lay preponderance.* Out of the list we possess, in some two or so the number of lay and clerical members is equal. In one Commission for the Province of York in the reign

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injunctions, to declare spiritual promotions void; to allow competent pensions to those who quit their livings, to examine letters of orders, to give institution and induction; to convene synods and receive synodals, and to excommunicate those who refuse to pay; to give licences to preach; to discharge from prison persons committed on the score of religion; to try the causes of deprivation, and restore such as had been illegally displaced.

* 11 Charles I. Canon 80, 1603.

‡ Gibson's "Codex," vol. i, p. 44.

§ The Bill of Rights. Clause 3. "That the Commission for erecting the *late Court* of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other Commissions and Courts of a like nature are illegal and pernicious."

‖ Strype's "Life of Whitgift," folio, bk. iii, App. no. iv, p. 49.

of Charles I, the balance seems fairly but *exceptionally* on the clerical side. The state of things in the north then seems to explain it. In the first High Commission (July, 1559) the members were fifteen lay and four clerical. In the last which we have by us (1633) the constituent elements were fifty-eight lay, four Doctors of Law, and forty-five clerical. The fourteen intervening Commissions, with the exceptions, two incomplete and one above stated, tell the same story. Lay preponderance, or no clerical majority.

So far from the Commissions not being enrolled in Chancery during Tudor times, they were not enrolled till 1596. Up to 1584 they were temporary, they then became permanent.* This may have been the reason. There seems to be no point in the cause assigned by Mr. Gladstone, when we find that such lawyers as Bacon and Coke sat upon them, and Coke we know drew one up. During the reign of James, when the contest between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Courts was rife, a clause was inserted in the Commissions stating that it was the original intention of Parliament that these Commissions should be *temporary*, and *accommodated to the circumstances of the times*. This clause was shortly after withdrawn.

Though this Court of High Commission was final, we find that as time wore on a *Court of Review on Appeal* was allowed. This appears in a few Commissions of James's reign. But the proviso was shortly withdrawn, as it would seem, when the influence of Laud began to be felt. The Court of Delegates which grew out of the Statute of Henry never appears, though Collier asserts that this Statute of Henry was revived by the Act of Supremacy.†

Having so far settled this historical vindication of the right of the laity all along to exercise judicial functions in Ecclesiastical Causes, as we are taught by the constitution of these Commissions during three reigns, the inquiry will naturally arise:—What relation had these High Commissions in their day to the ordinary Ecclesiastical Courts, and why were these insufficient?

Extraordinary measures were requisite to cope with extraordinary circumstances—is a general reply which is plausible at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign. It is not so satisfactory, considering the great power of the Crown, as time advanced. The very proviso in the Commissions to which we have alluded, seems to favour the impression that ordinary tribunals would prove sufficient. Further on, we must look for an answer within the Church, as well as without.

Such an answer is given in a letter from the Privy Council in 1573 to the Bishop of Winchester.‡ It runs thus:—

"After our hearty commendations to your Lordship, By her "Majesty's Proclamation dated the 20th October last, it appears "how careful the Queen's Majesty is, that the order set forth in

* Gardiner's "Hist.," 1603-1616, vol. i, p. 152.

† Collier, E. H., vol. ii, p. 421.

‡ Strype's "Life of Parker," folio, bk. iv, c. 36, p. 454.

" the Book of Common Prayer, allowed by Parliament in the first " year of her reign, should be severely and uniformly kept through- " out this Realm, and that the fault why such diversities have of " late been taken up in many churches, and therefore contentions " and unseemly disputations risen in her Highness opinion is most " in you, to whom the special care of Ecclesiastical matters doth " appertain, and who have your Visitations, Episcopal and Archi- " diaconal, and your Synods, and such other meetings of the " clergy, first and chiefly ordained for that purpose, to keep all " churches in your Diocese in one uniform and godly order—which " now is, as is commonly said, the more the pity—to be only used " by you and your officers to get money, or for some other purpose, " we at her Majesty's command straitly made to us are therefore to " require you to take a more vigilant eye to this uniformity and to " the keeping of the order allowed by the said Parliament and by " her Majesty's Injunctions throughout your Diocese, and either " by yourself which were most fit, or by your Archdeacon, or other " able and wise man, and personally to visit and see that in no one " church in your Diocese there be any deformity or difference used " of these prescribed orders. But if any shall refuse them, or " attempt any others divers or repugnant to them, to call those " persons before you and by the censures of the Church and Eccle- " siastical law to see them punished. So that what is required " may be done in all the churches without *extraordinary*, and " *temporal* (as it is called) *jurisdiction*, and *judgment*, as we think " it may verily, if diligent care and heed were taken by you their " Pastor and Bishop. For nothing is required but that godly and " seemly orders allowed by the Queen's Majesty and the whole " Realm be kept. The which if you did not wink at and dissemble, " there needed not these new Proclamations and strait calling upon.

" Wherefore, if now you would take for your part care and heed, " and so the rest of your fellow Bishops the quiet of the Realm " might soon be purchased in our minds touching any such matters, " which should be great pleasure to her Majesty and comfort to us. " The neglecting whereof how grievous it will be to her Majesty, " and *what danger may be to you*, her Highness hath expressed in " the said Proclamation. Thus, praying you to consider these " things and withal speedily to put order unto them, and from time " to time to certify us what you have done herein to the fulfilling " of her Majesty's desire we bid you most heartily farewell. From " Greenwich, 7 Nov. 1573. — W. Burghley, E. Lincoln, T. " Sussex, F. Knollys, J. Croft, R. Leicester, W. Smith."

Besides these Commissions there were others which Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Joyce do *not* refer to, which most emphatically support the right of the laity to exercise judicial functions in Ecclesiastical Causes. They bear very closely upon the ritual disorders of our own time.

By the Act of Uniformity of Elizabeth (which still governs us), offences against the Prayer Book were to be tried " at the Assizes, " or by Justices of Oyer and Determiner." Such Commissions we

have among our records. In 1573 Letters from the Privy Council* were written to chosen Commissioners in every shire, stating they had been selected to try offences against Uniformity and Common Prayer, by way of Oyer and Terminer—that the Queen was much concerned at the contentions and strifes risen about the rites and ceremonies of the Sacraments and Common Prayer—hence she had put forth her recent Proclamation, and charged the Privy Council to repress these schisms, contentions and diversities from the orders set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, wherefore these specially chosen Commissioners were to meet and arrange about time and place, and try the offenders according to law.†

The Royal Warrant for the Commission itself we have in Latin (except the title of the Act of Uniformity which in it is quoted in English) under the heading—"De Commissione speciali ad "audiendum et terminandum,"‡ with the names of the Commissioners for the several counties. The sum of the statement is this:—

1. London and Middlesex, *three* clerical and *fourteen* lay justices; 2. Norfolk, *two* clerical and *nine* lay justices, one uncertain; 3. Essex, *three* clerical and *nine* lay justices; 4. Northampton, *two* clerical and *nine* lay justices, three uncertain; 5. Oxford, *one*

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* Strype's "Ann. Ref.," vol. ii, pt. 1, p. 385.

† This letter in full is as follows:—

"After our right hearty commendations. The Queen's Majesty being much grieved to understand that in divers places of this realm there is much diversity, and thereupon contentions and strifes risen about the rites and ceremonies of the Sacraments and Common Prayer, hath of late set out an earnest proclamation, as you know, that speedy care should be had for the reformation of those abuses, and preventing of further danger that might ensue. The which to be done as carefully and seriously as may be, her Highness hath made choice of you, as in whom her Highness doth put special trust, that you will execute her gracious will and pleasure declared in that proclamation, according as in the Act of Parliament made in the first year of her Majesty's reign; and yet ceaseth not still to call upon us, to have an eye to the repressing of those schisms, contentions and diversities from the orders set forth in the Book of Common Prayer allowed by Parliament, and thinketh every day too long until it be done.

"Wherefore we have thought good, by these our letters to require you, as soon as conveniently you may, to meet and consult a convenient time and place; and that being agreed upon, with all speed to inquire and try the offenders according to Law.

"That Her Majesty's proclamation may not seem to be neglected or frustrate, nor the mischief suffered to proceed any further. And what you shall have done herein, her Majesty's will and pleasure is, that you shall with all convenient speed as you may, certify her Highness or as appointed in the Commission, by your letters; and so from time to time, as occasion may serve, or that anything shall be done by you, by virtue of the said Commission. Wherein we pray you not to fail; and so commit you to Almighty God. From Greenwich." Nov. (1573).

‡ Rymer's "Fœdera," vol. xv, p. 724. 1573.

clerical and *seven* lay justices, two uncertain; 6. Suffolk, *two* clerical and *ten* lay justices; 7. Salop, *two* clerical and *seven* lay justices.

Yet another kind of Commission remains to be noticed. It testifies to functions besides those which are judicial which the laity have exercised in Church matters. We allude to the Commission issued by James I *to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners* for the amendment of the Prayer Book of Elizabeth, under that proviso of her Act of Uniformity, part of which is erroneously called the "Ornaments' Rubric." This Commission is made out to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Chichester "and the "rest of our Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical."* The names of the Commissioners are not given. If the Commissioners to whom this task was assigned were the same as in the last antecedent Commission for the province of Canterbury they were twenty-eight lay and twenty-six clerical. If they were those selected to act upon a Special Committee, closer in date and immediately after the Hampton Court Conference, they were four bishops, four deans, four civilians, and four common lawyers, *i.e.*, eight lay and eight clerical, after the model of the "Reformatio "Legum." This last conjecture seems most correct, because the four bishops were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Chichester, and Winchester, three of whom are mentioned in the royal warrant.†

Convocation had nothing whatever to do with this, except, as in other cases, to accept it, and then to give their opinion, as in Canon 80, "that it was according to the laws, and his Highness's "Prerogative in that behalf."

A most important inquiry now opens. If a Bishop at this period of our history were himself to offend, or to shield an offender, could the Court of High Commission or the Crown reach him?—Both.

The letter of the Privy Council to the Bishop of Winchester, above given, speaks volumes. We will only mention two things:—

1. In the twenty-four Inquisitorial Articles framed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1584, the sixth is as follows‡:—

"6. Also we object (to you in this respect) that in the statute "her Majesty, the Lords Temporal, and all the Commons in that "Parliament assembled, earnestly charge and require all Arch-"bishops, Bishops, and other ordinaries, that they shall endeavour "themselves to the uttermost of their knowledge that the true and "due execution of the said Act (of Uniformity) might be had "throughout their Dioceses, and charges as they would answer "before Almighty God, and we accuse you accordingly that," &c.

This shows the possibility of a Bishop being brought before these

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* 160$\frac{3}{4}$, 9, Feby. Rymer's "Fœdera," vol. xvi, p. 565.

† Strype's "Life of Whitgift" (folio), bk. iv, c. 32, p. 576.

‡ Strype's "Whitgift," bk. iii, App. No. iv, p. 49.

Ecclesiastical Commissioners, with the majority of his judges laymen.

2. The ecclesiastical annalist, under the year 1627, asserts the voice of our past history.

Alluding to the sequestration of Archbishop Abbot, Cardwell* says:—

"The King appointed a Commission to sequester the Archbishop, "acting on a principle which Queen Elizabeth announced to her "Bishops in the Parliament of 1584,† and which appears to have "*been generally admitted in those times*, that Bishops could be "deposed by the Queen, not merely for wrong doing in themselves, "but *also for not amending what was wrong in others.*"

These things suggest to us that grand proof of the tendency at the present time to invade the rights of the laity—the consequences of the Clewer case. The decision in this case is perplexing to the historical student on two grounds. It seems to be in conflict with both Ecclesiastical and Constitutional Law. The former, because the Bishop's veto may nullify the Act of Uniformity; the latter, because he practically claims, and has allowed to him, a "dispens-"ing power." This does violence to the "Bill of Rights," which refuses it to the Sovereign, and could not possibly intend the privilege for any subject.

This is not the place to treat of Convocation. History refutes its pretensions and the special pleading which supports them. What it has done, and what it has not done, Dr. Cardwell, with great sobriety and impartiality, briefly sums up at page x, in the Preface to his "Synodalia." As at present constituted, it is an anachronism. If anything is needed, it is a Royal Commission to bring it into harmony with *just* requirements. When it can be said truly to represent *even* the clergy, let alone the laity, then, and not till then, will it be fair to consider its claims. An examination into its judicial pretensions fails to discover any ground for them, except failure in the attempts to advance them.

When we pass in our survey from a personal to a constitutional monarchy, we rest upon the great constitutional settlement of 1688, the controlling principle it unfolds, and the constitutional compacts it has bequeathed to us, such as:—

1. The Coronation Oath that the Monarch "will maintain the "Protestant Reformed religion established by law."

2. The Acts of Union with Scotland and Ireland, emphasizing the Protestant Government and the Protestant religion.

3. The Act‡ for securing the Church of England by law established. The memorable recital of that settlement is as follows:—"Whereas it is reasonable and necessary that the true Protestant "religion, professed and established in the Church of England, and "the doctrines, worship, discipline, and *government be unalterably*

* Cardwell's "Doc. Ann.," vol. ii, p. 166. † D'Ewes's "Journal," p. 328.
‡ 5th Anne, c. 5.

"*secured.*" Thereupon the Act proceeds to re-enact the Acts of Uniformity of Elizabeth and Charles II, and other Acts for the establishment and preservation of the Church of England, with a special provision with reference to the Coronation Oath.

These furnish overruling principles to guide our policy ecclesiastical and civil. It is not for any authority in Church or State lightly to regard them. Courts constructed or modified must primarily refer to these sanctions, and not to the cavils or complaints of a pre-Reformation, or an anti-Reformation school.

The form, we know, may be kept, whilst the spirit is sacrificed, and ominous suggestions are heard how the Supreme Court MAY be modified in the interests of the Spirituality. *Cuique sua arte credendum.* The judicial faculty does not appertain to the clergy. The life-long laborious experience necessary to obtain it only belongs to our Judges. Free from bias, impartial and painstaking, faithful to conscience and to the legal conscience too, they are the ornaments of our land. In them only can we be sure of the qualifications we seek. They only can possess our confidence.

Should the result be after all a realization of Sacerdotal aspirations and pretensions, history will repeat itself. Once in the record of our annals Sacerdotalism wrought the downfall of the Church, and something more. If the voice of such men as Dean Burgon, in his "Remonstrance to Canon Gregory," be unheeded, and the limits of sober comprehension as it existed forty years ago be unrestored—if the Bishops are to have an unconstitutional power conferred upon them, or Convocation to usurp it—if the rights of the laity are to be adroitly suppressed—or, "Benefit of Clergy" to be practically revived—the multiplied and multiplying enemies of the Church will be able to found their agitation against her on the better plea of justice, and in no long time to insist with some force, that as the Church of England has broken the Constitutional compacts by ceasing to be the "Protestant Reformed religion," it shall also cease to be "established by law."

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7th Thousand.]

SECRET SOCIETIES.

By the Rev. HELY HUTCHINSON SMITH, M.A.,
Vicar of Market Rasen.

Paper read at the Conference of the Church Association, held at Exeter Hall, on the 2nd November, 1881.

If I am not able to give as much information on the subject of Secret Societies as might be expected from the reader of this paper, I can hardly admit that the fault is wholly mine. I must plead that a deficiency of much definite information on the subject is the result of that very system of secrecy against which it is the desire of the Church Association (and I think I may add, of every lover of truth and openness) to protest. The condemnation of secret societies is their existence. The more difficult it is to disclose the machinery by which they are moved, the more should that machinery be looked upon with suspicion. We are told on the highest authority that everyone that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light lest his deeds should be reproved (or discovered); but he that doeth truth cometh to the light that his deeds may be made manifest that they are wrought in God. We are told of men who love darkness rather than light because their deeds are evil. There could be no more authoritative or distinct condemnation of secret societies than is contained in these declarations of Christ himself.

It will be my duty to show that there are Societies in our midst that deserve the name of "Secret," and that they are not formed (as their friends maintain) simply to promote the honour and glory of God, the good of the Church and the growth of religious life, for then it would be a crime to say a word against them, but that their main object is to undo the glorious work of the Reformation, to re-establish ecclesiastical tyranny and to pave the way for ultimate

reunion with Rome. It will be as well to mention that under the head of these societies, must be included many guilds—brotherhoods and sisterhoods; but I must premise that they are not all *equally* open to the charge of secrecy. There is every grade and shade among them: from those whose transactions are shrouded in the deepest mystery, to those who publish openly their rules and lists of members—though even in the case of the most outspoken of such fraternities it is impossible to know what secrets are in reserve that are known only to the initiated, who control the operations.

For the proof that some of the societies hide their mysteries with scrupulous care from the vulgar and profane gaze, and that there is nothing they dread so much as publicity, I will presently refer to their own words and deeds.

Of the hundreds of these organizations with which our country and colonies are honeycombed, perhaps the closest corporations are "The Society of the Holy Cross" (or S. S. C.), "The Confraternity of "the Blessed Sacrament," "The Order of Corporate Reunion," "The Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom," and "The Cowley Fathers."

Among sisterhoods, the "Society of the Holy Trinity," under the wardenship of Dr. Pusey, the nunneries under the control of of Father Ignatius, removed from Fulham to Slapton, South Devon, and the "Confraternity of the Order of St. Margaret."

There may be others still more secret, whose very existence is known only to members, but the secrets of those I have mentioned have been partially disclosed.

I will first speak of the "Society of the Holy Cross," which is composed of the very *élite*, the old guard, of the Romanizing army of invasion. Secrecy is the very essence of its existence. It was founded in the year 1855 by a namesake of mine (whom I shall not particularize further). It was twenty years before it attracted public notice, though it was busy undermining the Protestantism of the land; its very name does not occur in the "Church Kalendar" or in "the Church Guilds' Directory" which gives a list of 192 guilds, &c. The title of Holy Cross, it is true, occurs repeatedly, but refers to minor and often mere local societies, whether affiliated or no is not divulged. So far back as 1867, it was described in a friendly paper as a "shy and retiring organization known as the S. S. C."* It is indeed "shy and retiring," in fact there is nothing it seems to dread so much as the light, as may be proved from the statements of its officials as well as of its friends, for at a Synod held in September, 1874, Brother Bagshaw maintained that "we should be most careful "to preserve the strictly private and confidential character of the "Roll," that is the list of its members (I was not present at the meeting, as I am not a member of the S. S. C.; but I give as my authority two articles in *The Press and St. James's Chronicle*, June 18th and July 2nd, 1881). The report of the Synod is signed by the secretary, Rev. H. E. Willington. Thus an interval of seven

* *Church News*, August 21st, 1867.

years elapsed before the whole proceedings of this Synod came to light, but the dread expressed by Brother Bagshaw lest a copy of the Roll should fall into hostile hands seems to have been an ominous presentiment, for very shortly afterwards a copy did fall into the hands of a Protestant, who, being under no vow of secrecy, published in the *Rock* the name of every clergyman belonging to the Society. The list was re-issued in a well-known pamphlet entitled "The Ritualistic Conspiracy," and great was the consternation displayed by the members, some of whom felt it *expedient* to withdraw their names. Now here we have a proof that the "Society "of the Holy Cross," by its own confession, is a secret society. What had it to be ashamed of that it shunned the light? This will appear in due course.

I will digress for a minute, though it is hardly a digression, to defend the title of the pamphlet, *i. e.*, "Ritualistic Conspiracy," which might seem uncharitable. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in his speech in Convocation, July 6th, 1877, did not hesitate to condemn the Society of the Holy Cross as "a conspiracy against the doctrines "and discipline of our Reformed Church." Now the Primate doubtless weighed his words well and knew that the word "conspiracy" implies secrecy—the union of *con* and *spiro*—implies men speaking together with bated breath; and Johnson's definition is, I believe, not far wide of the mark, "a private agreement among several "persons to commit some crime; an agreement of men to do any-"thing; always taken in an evil part."

I take the difference between a conspiracy and rebellion to be that conspiracy is rebellion in the bud, and rebellion is conspiracy full blown. As conspiracy gains ground the necessity for secrecy ceases, and hence there is more publicity given to the aims and counsels of these societies than there was when they were first instituted. Many of them therefore are not now afraid to publish what once they were most anxious to conceal for fear of shocking the public mind.

We need not wonder the S. S. C. wished to keep its actions concealed, for the account of its proceedings in the Synod, before referred to, in 1874, would have been enough to have aroused public indignation.

We are told that "At 10 A.M. *Solemn Mass*, with Sermon by V. "Brother Lowder, was celebrated in the presence of ninety-two "brethren. In this 'Mass' the Roman Ritual was fully acted out!" "It appears by the 'Analysis' published by the Society that it "has fully committed itself and its members 'to the principle of "the Roman Ritual!' At the morning sitting a letter was read 'from "Brother Hutchings, expressing a hope that in Ritual, the S. S. C. "*would move in the direction of the Roman* rather than the Sarum "Use.' Brother Bristow 'hoped the Roman use would stil' "prevail.'" The second day's proceedings commenced by a "Mortuary Mass" which was offered for the dead brethren at 9 A.M. Later on in the day, on the motion of Brother Nihil, seconded by Rev. Stephenson Greatheed, it was agreed, *nem. com.*, That "When

"the Synod shall extend over two days, a *mass* shall be said for "departed brethren before the proceedings of the second day."

The Society having thus in secret conclave violated and repudiated the practice and teaching of the Church, and having declared by word and action in favour of what the Church describes "as blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits," proceeded to plot for Disestablishment. Brother Pixell thought, that "as a step towards Disestablishment the Bishops might be "relieved from their attendance in the House of Lords!"

The Rev. S. C. Church after dogmatically asserting, "There *is* a "Purgatory," and that Article XXV Of the Sacraments "does not "condemn the Catholic uses of Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, "Elevation of the Host and Processions of the Host," proceeded to say, "The Church of England is not Protestant but Catholic, "though fettered in action by union with the State, and the conduct "of the Bishops in pandering to it. The duty of Catholic priests "in the Church of England is to use every means in their power to "show the nation that its Church is not Protestant but Catholic, "and thus prepare for *liberation* from the *curse* of being by *law* "established."

"The Officers of the Society," so we read in the Rev. Orby Shipley's "Four Cardinal Virtues," "are, a Master, four Vicars, "a Secretary, and Treasurer; together with Local Vicars, "Secretaries, and Treasurers in the country, all of whom are "elected annually."—*Nature and Objects of the Society of the Holy Cross*, p. xlvii.

There are three classes of members, each of which has its own peculiar Rule to follow:

"1. The *Green* Rule, which is binding upon every brother.

"2. The *Red* Rule, with a stricter obligation; and

"3. The *White* Rule, *restricted to Celibates*, still more stringent "in its requirements. Besides this, there is a Roll of Celibates, "to which any Brother may belong, without binding himself to "the obligations of the stricter Rules."—*Ibid.* p. xlvi.

The Society meets in Synod, in London, twice every year; namely, on Holy Cross Day, May 3rd, and on the Exaltation of the Cross Day, in September. *The brethren are bound to secrecy* as to what transpires at these Synods. In addition to these there are frequent "Chapters" of the Society, held in London; and also Chapters of Local Branches in various parts of the country. The Synods have always been held in St. Peter's Church, London Docks. An illegal gathering of this kind meeting within the church itself, ought, I venture to suggest, to be inhibited by the Bishop of the diocese.

An important item in the past history of this Society was the work of getting up the petition in 1867, to the Lambeth Council, in favour of the Reunion of Christendon. In this address which appears in full in the *Church News*, Sept. 11, 1867, p. 426, the Archbishops and Bishops assembled at Lambeth were asked to promote the Reunion of the Church of England with the Church of Rome!

"We are mindful," says the Address, "of efforts made in former

"time by English and foreign Bishops and theologians to effect, by "mutual explanations on either side, *a reconciliation between the "Roman and Anglican Communions.* And, considering the intimate "and visible union which existed between the Church of England "and the rest of Western Christendom, we earnestly entreat your "lordships seriously to consider the best means of renewing like "endeavours; and to adopt such measures as may, under the "guidance of God's Holy Spirit, be effectual in removing the "barriers which now divide the Western Branch of the Catholic "Church."

This Address, signatures to which were received by the Secretary of the Society of the Holy Cross, was signed by no less than 1212 clergy, and 4453 laymen. A fact this which shows how strong the Romeward movement was, even in 1867, in the Church of England.

As might be expected, the S. S. C. has done a good deal of work in the dark.

The abominable book known as "the Priest in Absolution," which implies (as has been well said) "absolute pollution in the "priest," was an emanation from this Society, and so well was the secret of its hidden source kept that the late lamented Dr. Peter Maurice, of Yarnton, near Oxford, who was one of the first to scent and the keenest in following the track of the Romanizing movement, declared that all his researches failed for years to discover the paternity of this book (and the second part was for a long time considered a myth and no copy could be obtained), but eventually it was, as we may say, run to earth, and it was tracked back to the burrows of the Society of the Holy Cross. However, it is after all only an adaptation of a nasty French work (Popish of course), called "Manuel des Confesseurs." It is remarkable that Dr. Pusey's "Manual for Confessors" is also translated, with adaptations, from the same book.

From the foregoing utterances and operations of the S. S. C. we can form an opinion of the nature of those "Retreats for the "Clergy," to which the country is indebted exclusively to this Society—which organized in 1856 the first spiritual Retreat for clergy. This has been followed by a succession of others; which were conducted first of all by the brethren of the Society, afterwards by bishops or other clergy, with episcopal sanction. A list of these Retreats has appeared at different times in the *Church News:* the issue of August 5, 1867, announced one at the College of Hurstpierpoint, to be conducted by Father Benson; and added, "it is probable the same arrangements will be made at Cuddesdon, "as usual." This was the first intimation, as far as I know, of the connection between this "shy and retiring" Society and the Cuddesdon College, and it was also stated that information with regard to the Retreat might be obtained from the Rev. the Principal. In the *Church Times* of May 25th, 1877, appears a list headed thus:— "S. S. C. RETREATS FOR CLERGY, 1877, SECOND LIST;" and signed by the Secretary of the Retreat Committee of the S. S. C. Two

Retreats are advertised therein to be held that year in Cuddesdon College; one at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury; and another at Lancing College. Is it not a scandal that two of our Theological Colleges for the training of our future clergy should be placed at the disposal of such a Romanizing Society as the Society of the Holy Cross, denounced by the Archbishop of Canterbury as "a conspiracy?" I think it prudent not to give the names of those who conducted some of them, as I do not wish to speak evil of dignitaries, and in my mind to give their names would be to speak evil of them.

I have shown the teaching and tendency of this Society because it is the source of many others, and its principles the same; part of its organization being set apart for the secret affiliation of numerous guilds spread throughout the land, whose members when affiliated will naturally become impregnated with its extreme views, nor can we help regretting that the Home Mission work of such a Society should receive the large amount of influential and pecuniary support it does. Its first great mission was at St. Peter's, London Docks, and this Mission has received grants from the Bishop of London's Fund, Church Building, Additional Curates, and other societies, and up to 1877 had collected altogether the sum of £40,000. Hence we see that it behoves loyal churchmen to be very careful what societies they support; for the funds of those which bear the most harmless, or even recommendatory titles, and are under the highest auspices, may be applied to help the overthrow of the Church instead of promoting its usefulness. I will now dismiss the S. S. C. with the remark that it is the mother of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, who has followed with filial devotion in the maternal footsteps; but whose special mission is the re-introduction of the mass.

I must now speak of a society, which is even more extreme, more mysterious, than the Holy Cross—I allude to the "Order of Cor-" porate Reunion." All who join this order must be re-baptized, re-confirmed, and every clergyman re-ordained. It professes, I understand, to receive into its ranks none but members of the Church of England, and possesses *three* Bishops of its own, who have been consecrated by Bishops belonging to the Roman, Greek, and either *Anglican* or *Armenian* Churches, but *when* or *where* so consecrated I cannot pretend to solve. But I must establish the assertions I have made, which I acknowledge are startling.

The first official document of the Association (Order of Corporate Reunion) says, on p. 11 (2nd ed.), that "The Bishops of "the Church of England, having yielded up all canonical "authority and jurisdiction in the spiritual order, can neither "interfere with, nor restrain us in, our work of recovering from "elsewhere that which has been forfeited or lost,—*securing three* "*distinct and independent lines for new Episcopal succession*, so "as to labour corporately, and on no sandy foundation, in "the healing of the breach which has been made."—*Pastoral*, page 11.

What those "three lines" are we learn from a long letter on the Order of Corporate Reunion, in the *Church Review* (Dec. 28, 1878, p. 623), by the Rev. W. Allen Whitworth, who is writing *against* the order from a Ritualistic standpoint. He says, "The Order of "Corporate Reunion is not acting as a guild or society *within* the "Church, when it leads members of the Church of England to "seek confirmation, not at the hands of an English diocesan, but "at the hands of one who has been made a Bishop by the SECRET "co-operation (as is asserted) of a Roman, a Greek, and an "Armenian ecclesiastic." Mr. Whitworth also writes in the same letter, "When members of the Church of England join the Order "of Corporate Reunion it is the general practice (or at least the "general practice followed in the cases I have been able to inquire "into) to re-baptize them." As to re-ordination and re-confirmation he writes, "We are bidden to mistrust the validity of our con-"firmation and our ordination received at the hands of Anglican "bishops, *and are urged to make all secure by seeking these anew* "in the Order of Corporate Reunion."

I have spoken of *three* Bishops. There is only one to whose name we have any clue. Again we must thank Mr. Whitworth: "The Roman, Greek, and Armenian bishops who joined together "secretly to consecrate Dr. F. G. Lee and his colleagues, could not "think that they were thus supplying the Church of England with "an episcopate." So that you see Dr. Lee is said to have been "consecrated" a Bishop, and that there were others consecrated "his colleagues." In another part of his letter, Mr. Whitworth speaks of "*Bishop* F. G. Lee's recent speech at Hammersmith," and according to the *Whitehall Review*,* a service was conducted at All Saints', Lambeth, not many weeks ago, in which one of these Bishops appeared in full episcopal vestments, as approved by the Church of Rome herself, and took part in the ceremony—censing the altar, &c. Who this Bishop was I know not; he was described as being rather stout. The *Whitehall* considered he might be one of their correspondents, who styles himself the Bishop of Dorchester. Now this Dorchester is probably the one in Oxfordshire, which was the original seat of the Bishop now known as the Bishops of Lincoln. I do not know whether my worthy diocesan is aware that his position is thus disputed by *a claimant*—a claimant who believes that *he* alone has been validly consecrated to the office! It would be also interesting to know how many of the clergy in the diocese have secretly transferred their allegiance, and who those clergymen are to whom the "Pastoral" of the Order of Corporate Reunion is addressed, which I hold in my hands, and which has the following remarkable introduction and ratification—

"In the Sacred Name of the Most Holy, Undivided and Adorable "Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.—Amen.

"*Thomas*, by the Favour of God, Rector of the Order of Cor-

* *Whitehall Review*, September 18th, 1881.

" porate Reunion, and Pro-Provincial of Canterbury; *Joseph*, by " the Favour of God, Provincial of York, in the Kingdom of " England; and *Lawrence*, by the Favour of God, Provincial of " Caerleon, in the Principality of Wales, with the Provosts and " Members of the Synod of the Order, to the Faithful in Christ " Jesus, whom these Presents may concern, Health and Benediction " in the Lord God Everlasting.

" Drawn up, approved, ratified, confirmed, and solemnly promul- " gated in the divinely-protected City of London (which God " pardon for its sins and still mercifully protect), on the eighth day " of September, being the Feast of the Nativity of Our Lady Saint " Mary, the Blessed Mother of God, in the year of Our Lord, and of " the World's Redemption, one thousand eight hundred and seventy- " seven.

" A true copy, so I testify. ADRIAN DE HELTE,
" London, *August* 15*th*, 1877. *Notary Apostolic*."

Who are Thomas, Joseph, and Lawrence? what are provincials and pro-provincials? who is Adrian de Helte? what is a notary Apostolic? whereabouts in London was this pastoral concocted? There is nothing definite here but the date.

This "Order" is certainly a very secret society. And surely it can be called nothing less than a conspiracy, for its members take the pay of the Church of England and have sworn allegiance to their lawful Bishops and then set up an *imperium in imperio*.*

"The Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom" must also be included among Secret Societies. One of its rules says, "The names of members will be kept strictly private." The names *are* private and I have no means of revealing them, but I am in a position to produce evidence of one of its members as to the help the Association expects from these secret societies of which we are treating to extirpate Protestantism from the land. I allude to a remarkable letter written by a lay member of the Church of England, who was also a member of "The Association for the "Promotion of the Unity of Christendom." The original letter was written in German, and was published in English in the *Union Review*, 1867 (pp. 378-412). This gentleman, whose letter is republished by the Church Association, and is worthy of attentive perusal, divides the Catholic (that is the Roman Catholic) revival into two periods: first, the revival of Catholic doctrine from 1825 to 1857; second, the revival of Catholic practice from 1857. He informs his Romanist friend that among many other agencies relied on to reintroduce Catholic practice, must be reckoned "Societies, "Guilds, Brotherhoods, &c.," which statement must be connected with the following very significant and weighty sentence that appears earlier in the pamphlet—

* Since this paper was in type an article has appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1st, 1881, by Dr. F. G. Lee, entitled, "The Order of Corporate Reunion," which admits and confirms all I have said above, and also proves that secrecy is no longer considered so necessary as it was.

"You know that at this time (about 1842) many of the leaders "of our 'High Church' party *joined your communion.* Most, "however, have remained with us, and have during the last twenty-"five years constantly preached their doctrines which have *secretly* "yet surely been working, like the leaven among us."

We are here distinctly told that these leaders of the then called "High Church" party—the very men who organized these societies—have *privately* joined the Church of Rome, and are now working secretly in our midst. Among such societies this member of the A. P. U. C. makes special and honourable mention of "The Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament" and "The "Guild of St. Alban," which were early in the field. The first, we are told, is especially looked to for such works as "helping poor "parishes to provide the proper *Mass* vestments and altar furniture, "and spreading by its publications the Catholic doctrine of the "Real Presence." With regard to altar furniture I find in the "Church Kalendar" that the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament makes grants "to supply altar linen of correct pattern." I wonder where they get the correct pattern, and if from the picture of Leonardo da Vinci, whether they tie the corners of the cloth in knots!

Now, here we are fully warned of the aim and object of these societies, it is no use in the face of this avowal pretending that their object is simply to stimulate spiritual life and help on good works, the real aim is to root up Protestantism; all their plausible acts are for this end, they have told us so.

Before I dismiss the "Society for the Promotion of the Unity "of Christendom" I must mention that they openly advocate the supremacy of the Pope. We have been accustomed to look upon our most advanced Anglicans as Romanists without Rome, and Papists without a Pope, but the A. P. U. C. has undeceived us —one extract must suffice (from their "Essays on Reunion"): "*The Primacy of Rome was given to her certainly not by the* "*Church, but by the great head (of the Church) Himself*" (p. 27). Tractarians,—Puseyites,—Ritualists, are feeble terms, their day is past. The advance guard now go boldly in for Rome Rule, and in future I shall venture to call the members of the Catholic league—*ROME RULERS.*

Another proof of the secret working of these societies is to be found in the fact that they issue works and pamphlets for private circulation only, from private presses, without an author's name.

Whence, except from some secret society, have issued certain books bearing no name but purporting to come from "the Committee "of Clergy;" what is the Committee of Clergy? who are they? Whence come the two books, entitled "Instructions for Novices," and "Instructions for Associates"? The following quotation is taken from the latter:—

"You are to associate with all strangers, heretical as well as "Christian Catholic. If heretical, to be civil, and *not to discover* "*your profession;* and for the better procurement of these designs

"you may, with leave of any three of the Society, be permitted to "wear what dress or habit you think convenient, provided the "Society hear from the party so dispensed. Any of you thus "dispensed with may go with the heretic to any of their heretical "meetings. In case any of you be thus employed, ye are dis- "pensed with, to go with heretics to their churches, or as you see "convenient. If you own yourselves clergymen, then to preach, "but with caution, till ye be well acquainted with those "heretics you converse with, and then *by degrees add to your* "*doctrine*, by ceremonies or otherwise, as you find them inclinable. "If ye be known by any of the lay Catholics, you are to pacify "them by saying secret mass unto them, or by acquainting other "priests (who are not able to undertake this work) with your "intentions, who do generally say mass unto them.

"In case in strange countries ye be known by merchants or "others trading or travelling thither, for to strengthen your "designs the more for your intention, you are dispensed with to "marry after their manner; and then ye safely may make answer "that heretical marriage is no marriage, for your dispensation "mollifies it so, that at the worst it is but a venial sin, and may "be forgiven. Ye are not to preach all after one method, but to "observe the place wherein ye come. If Lutheranism be prevalent, "then preach Calvinism; if Calvinism, then Lutheranism. If in "England, then either of them, or John Huss' opinions, Anabaptism, "or any that are contrary to the Holy See of St. Peter, by which "your *function will not be suspected*, and yet you may still act on "the interest of another Church; there being, as the Council are "agreed on, no *better way* to demolish that Church of heresy, but "by mixtures of doctrines and by adding of ceremonies more than "be at present permitted."

These instructions are some centuries old and from the Roman mint, but they are now re-issued to apply to present times, and it is suggestive of a state of affairs utterly unsuspected by the country at large that they *can* apply to the nineteenth century.

The Rev. C. H. Wainwright, Vicar of Blackpool, to whom I am indebted for this extract from his pamphlet, "The Secrets of "Ritualism," adds—

"I challenge the Ritualists to deny that these books exist, and "that these quotations are found in them; and, with all respect, "I ask the Bishops to consider whether the increase and prevalence "of Ritualism in this country are not due to the faithful carrying "out of the instructions which are given here?"

If the source from which this poisoned stream issued is concealed from view--surely the course its advocates recommend, that it should flow underground except where it can burst forth with advantage, is an open avowal of systematic secrecy. "Forewarned, "forearmed" is a proverb which it is taken for granted prudent men will accept. "In vain is the net spread in the sight of any bird," said the preacher—with such plain statements as to the object and tendency of Secret Societies the British public cannot say that they

have not had fair warning. The net is spread before our eyes and we are told that we are the victims intended to be ensnared.

Why is all this secrecy? surely it is as much opposed to the natural character of Englishmen as it is to the teaching of the Gospel. We cannot imagine any of our great religious societies, which mostly took their rise early in the century before the era of the so-called Catholic Revival, carrying on their operations under a dark veil, and refusing to give the names of their supporters to the world.

The Church Association and all Protestant Societies, instead of concealing their tactics, court and seek publicity, and this alone should entitle them to the favour of Englishmen.

Time fails me to speak of "the Cowley Fathers;" of "the Guild "of Holy Standard," for the army; and of the "Guild of St. Luke," "to defend and promote the Catholic Faith among the members of "the medical profession"—to which Guild I venture to assert the beloved physician were he alive now would not belong. His estimate of the Catholic Faith would probably be widely different from theirs.

It may be thought that I have postponed till rather late any mention of the English Church Union, but I suppose it hardly can itself be called a secret society, though, as is well-known, it takes secret societies under its wing, and may be called a kind of Ecclesiastical Guild-Hall, and many of its members belong to societies *strictly secret*. Yet it is impossible for any Protestant churchman to purchase a copy of its annual "List of Members;" and, as to its Women-Associates, *their* names are kept *strictly secret*. Probably the Union is afraid of the male relations of several of these ladies.

Now members of the English Church Union, at their public meetings, have denied that "any one in a lay position can be head of "the Church,"* thus denying the supremacy of the Queen. They have publicly advocated Disestablishment—"Nothing so fatal to us "as this Establishment"—"if by the blessing of God the suspension "of Mr. Mackonochie overthrows that *rook's nest* so much the "better."†

The union of Church and State is described as being "at the "bottom of all that hideous tryanny and bloodshed which has "stained the annals of the Catholic Church"‡—"connected by the "Establishment with the State we are in an immoral position,"§ said the same spokesman, Mr. A. H. Stanton. Exactly so; then why remain in it? The Rev. Temple West recommended in a meeting of the Union, December, 1873, "*resistance to Bishops* by "the persistent employment of the inhibited curates, in spite of "the Bishop's prohibition." The English Church Union has

* *Church Union Gazette*, vol. i, p. 253.
† *Church Union Gazette*, vol. ii, p. 12.
‡ *Church Union Gazette*, vol. ii, p. 163.
§ *Church Union Gazette*, vol. iii, p. 313.

pledged itself (and carried out its pledge) to defend illegal practices. It advocates resistance to the law, the practice of Confession, the sacrifice of the Mass, transubstantiation, and the supremacy of tradition over Scripture. But the head and front of its offending is its advocacy of the cause of the Jesuits.

At a meeting of the Cambridgeshire Branch a resolution was moved by the Rev. E. G. Wood, and *carried*, lamenting "The recent "action of the German Government in respect to the Society ('the "Jesuit Fathers') as giving to the enemies of *Christianity* [*sic*] "an opportunity of triumph."

Mr. Wood further said, that "the expulsion of the *Jesuits* from "Germany proceeded from ill-feeling *to the Church*, and meant in "other words a blow at Christianity;" and again, "Those who "were trying for the expulsion of the *Jesuits* were those who "wished that the *world* should be first and *religion* second."*

I do not know whether the English Church Union endorse or repudiate this resolution of a local branch; but if they repudiate it, then we have Catholic against Catholics, and Catholicity vanishes; if they endorse it, then let it not be forgotten that the English Church Union (which throws its *ægis* over so many secret societies) avows its sympathy with "the great secret society"—"the Order of "Jesus," which, I venture to say, is the most subtle and dangerous organization the world has ever seen, and is at once the foe of all constitutional government and of all personal liberty.

The English Church Union, formed in 1859 (seven years before the Church Association was thought of), declared that it was formed for "the *defence* of the doctrine and discipline of the "Church of England." When the defenders of the Church deny the authority of the head of the Church—the Queen, the Bishops, of its position as an establishment; when they counsel resistance to its laws, deny its articles, and welcome its avowed enemies, I say it is time for all loyal Churchmen to cry out not "save me from "my friends," but "defend me from my defenders."

I should like, but time does not permit, to have spoken more in detail of nunneries and sisterhoods, especially of those to which I have alluded as under the patronage of Dr. Pusey and Father Ignatius, and of the Confraternity of the Order of St. Margaret; but I must confine myself to treating shortly of the general principle, and then say a word or two more especially on sisters of mercy in hospitals.

As to the general principle I consider it highly objectionable; young women pledged to perpetual virginity, wearing a peculiar dress, with the emblem of the cross conspicuously displayed, and initiated in mysteries they must not divulge, remind us of the Vestal Virgins of Pagan Rome, and have little in common with the open transparent life which should characterize every Christian woman. The Apostle says, "I will therefore that the younger "women (or widows perhaps) marry, bear children, guide the house;"

* *Church Union Gazette*, vol. iii, p. 313.

again he advises them "to love their husbands, love their children, "to be devout, chaste, keepers at home." Of course *after* a Christian woman has attended to home calls and duties she cannot better employ her time than in ministering, as only a woman can, to the necessities and soothing the sorrows of her fellow-creatures; but to break all domestic ties, to sink her individuality, renounce her property, and to resign her will to the supreme control of others, who have no natural claim upon her, is a social anomaly.* But in the present crisis these organizations are worse than a social anomaly; they form part of the great conspiracy of which we have been speaking. We might in charity look upon them as intended to promote deeper personal piety, or as praiseworthy efforts to alleviate the sum of human misery; but we have it on the authority of the conspirators themselves that they rely greatly on the aid of sisterhoods (especially when they get a footing as hospital nurses), to advance the work of Roman Catholicizing the country. The writer of the German letter, already quoted, tells us so plainly, "Another great revival of the last ten years is that of "'sisterhoods.' Furious was the opposition raised to them at first; "now they have become very numerous, the governing bodies of "our hospitals are beginning to entrust the nursing to them "instead of to paid professional nurses."

Then again we read in a pamphlet, entitled "A Crusade for "Sisters in Hospitals," by a Knight Templar, "We would carry "on a crusade, though it may be a long one—though the obstacles "we may encounter may be great and numerous—though bigotry "and ignorance may harass our campaign, we shall proceed with "stout heart and steady purpose."

I think it must be plain to everyone that nursing and proselytizing should be kept distinct. Hospitals are for tending the sick and not for making converts; and to subordinate a main principle to a secondary purpose, even if that purpose were itself a good one, is a violation of all the laws of social science. The practical result of admitting these volunteer nurses into hospitals, acting under strict and secret orders from an extraneous and independent body, has resulted, as might have been expected, in the overthrow of discipline, and has been a fruitful source of discord and contention. Nursing is a medical and not an ecclesiastical matter, and in itself is no more Church work than making people's wills or commanding the channel fleet. I wonder the medical staff do not more strenuously assert their rights and say "trespassers "beware."

The only defence of sisters of mercy is the *apparent* usefulness of their work. There is a Jesuitical motto, justly repudiated by honest men, that "the end justifies the means," but a reverse motto is now receiving too great acceptance; it seems to be thought that the means justify the end, that is to say, we are told not to trouble ourselves with

* See Appendix.

the object aimed at as long as the efforts themselves appear good. This is as much as though, being handed a rifle which we were told was intended to shoot, say an Irish Landlord, we were to hand it back to the owner to execute his purpose, with the remark, "really this rifle is such an excellent weapon, so beautifully finished, "that it would be wrong to say a word against it." The excellence of the means (granted they are excellent) does not justify them if they are to effect a wrong object.

We must bear in mind that the Romanizing conspirators, on their own showing, are leaving no stone unturned to uproot the Protestantism of England; they are worming their way, through means of these secret societies, into every nook and corner. The æsthetic are to be won by the embellishment of art and the love of the beautiful, by every attraction that enchants the senses; the young are to be won by administering to their pleasures; the emotional and devout by the semblance of superior sanctity. The influence of the stage is to be bribed by supporting it. The country people are to be caught by *harvest festivals** and Sunday games in church and out of it. Infants are to be secured in their orphanages. The sick are to be worked upon in their weaker moments, and the gratitude that naturally results is to be turned to the one great end; every weakness and infirmity of human nature is pandered to, we may almost say heaven and earth is compassed, to make one proselyte—even history is falsified. Educational books are remodelled to help on the great cause; quietly and stealthily the advance is made, with now and then a bold rush.

But where these Secret Societies effect their objects the father is no longer supreme in his family, the bishop is defied in his diocese, the clergyman is undermined in his parish, the house-surgeon is almost a cypher in the hospital, the captain no longer captain of his own ship.

But before I conclude the whole subject I must remind you of what our Church says on the subject. I wish some clerical brother of one of these societies would one day forget his sermon and obeying the injunction of our Church, read a homily; he would probably, if he knew not its contents, select the one on "Good "Works" as least likely to clash with his creed, but I think he would stumble when he came across the following passage:—

"And briefly to pass over the ungodly and counterfeit religions, "let us rehearse some other kinds of *Papistical* superstitions and

* Harvest Festivals are enumerated—by the writer of the before-quoted German letter—among the other agencies for educating the public for "Catholic Practice." He adds the reason: "The service is generally a musical one; the village church is sure to be decorated with flowers and fruit for the occasion." It is as well for the people of England to know that these apparently praiseworthy and very popular services were introduced for the express purpose of accustoming them to the ornate ritual of Rome. Since "Harvest Thanksgivings" have become almost universal, the agricultural prosperity of the country has certainly not increased.

"abuses, as of purgatory, of Masses satisfactory, of stations and "jubilees, of feigned relics, of hallowed bells, bread, water, palms, "candles, fire, and such other; of superstitious fastings, of FRATER-"NITIES or BROTHERHOODS, of pardons, with such like merchandize."

I have endeavoured to show that Secret Societies do undoubtedly exist, and I may say abound, in our midst. That these societies under specious pretexts are endeavouring to induce our countrymen to deny the supremacy of the Queen, to submit to the Pope, to deny episcopal and civil authority, that they would introduce the Confessional, the sacrifice of the Mass, the doctrines of transubstantiation and purgatory, and prayers for the dead, the worship of the Virgin Mary, saints, images, and relics, and every speciality of revived paganism, falsely called Catholicism, against which our Church so nobly, so boldly, so successfully testified at the Reformation; and I maintain that we who try and defend the strongholds of the Established Church are the true and loyal Churchmen—yes! and Catholic Churchmen, too—for we do not dwarf our Churchmanship to the debased standard of the superstitions of the dark ages, but would measure it by the only true standard —the teaching of Christ and His Apostles. The Scripture our only rule of faith,—the sacrifice of Christ once offered and never to be repeated—no priest but Christ, no mediator but Christ—justification by faith only. These are the doctrines of our Church and the doctrines of our Bible. We hold them precious; our eternal hopes depend upon them, and may God give us grace to remain true to them and to declare them boldly and to defend our Scriptural Church from all attacks, whether it be by open assault or by the mines worked by Secret Societies.

POSTSCRIPT.—It may be objected that the above remarks might apply equally to the Masonic Brotherhood. I am not a Mason, but I know that Freemasonry is not a conspiracy. It describes itself as "founded on the practice of social and moral virtue." Its watchwords are "Brotherly Love, Relief, and Truth."—It is a friend of order, and upholds the constituted authority and laws of the Realm, and the testimony of centuries has proved that its fruits are as beneficent as its object is benevolent.

APPENDIX.

"A Religious (that is a Sister of Mercy) has made the sacrifice of her will, she must yield herself as wax to be moulded unresistingly—'I will,' 'I will not,' 'I prefer,' are words which should never pass from her lips."—*The Religious Life portrayed for the Use of the Sisters of Mercy* (London: Hayes), page 13.

A friend of mine much interested in nursing, and who, being invited to go and see "*volunteer* nursing" at a Union Workhouse, accepted the invitation, gives me this account of his visit in a letter, dated October 20th, 1881.

Presenting his introduction (a card from the Secretary) to the woman at the gate, the following dialogue took place—

Woman.—I suppose you wish to see Sister Rosamond.

Visitor.—I wish to see the nursing.

Woman.—Well, the nursing is in the hands of Sister Rosamond and Sister Martha.

Visitor.—Oh! but what are their real names?

Woman.—I don't know; we always call them Sister Rosamond and Sister Martha.

Visitor.—Do you mean to say that you do not know who they are—that no one knows who they are?

Woman.—Yes. No one knows.

Visitor.—Not even the Master of the House?

Woman.—No. They were sent by the "Mother" from London.

Visitor.—How are their letters addressed?

Woman.—Simply Sister Rosamond and Sister Martha.

(He had further conversation with the Secretary afterwards on the same point, and found that he knew nothing more; and stated, moreover, that they might be recalled by the "Mother" at any time, and that no one would be able to tell anything more than the "Mother" was pleased to disclose.)

Visitor.—Well, it is no business of mine further than to express my surprise; the object of my visit is plain and straightforward, and this is my introduction—the Secretary's card.

Woman.—Whom shall I say is come with it?

Visitor.—You may as well say "Brother William."

Woman (laughing)—Oh, that will not be sufficient.

Visitor.—No, I should think not. But why are you satisfied with "Sister" Rosamond? However, I have nothing to conceal, so you may take my card with it.

On going round the wards he was accompanied by the two "Sisters." He explained to them his errand, and prefacing his remarks by saying that he hoped they would feel perfectly at liberty to decline answering any questions.

He inquired whether their peculiar monastic garb did not sometimes rather frighten the patients. Whether they did not think a washing material and bright cheerful colour more suitable—questions which were pleasantly given and pleasantly evade[1]

To be obtained at the Office of the CHURCH ASSOCIATION, 14, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, at the price of 10*d* per dozen or 6*s* per 100.

19th Thousand.]

EVANGELICAL PROTESTANTISM: THE ONLY SURE MEANS OF RESISTING THE ADVANCES OF SUPERSTITION AND INFIDELITY.

By the REV. CANON CLAYTON, M.A.,

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Paper read at the Spring Conference of the Church Association in Willis's Rooms, King Street, St. James's, on Wednesday, 10th May, 1882.

The subject of this paper is "Evangelical Protestantism the only sure means of resisting the advances of superstition and infidelity." Here are two evils brought before our attention. These two evils are superstition and infidelity. For the cure of these two evils there is suggested one and one only remedy. That remedy is stated to be Evangelical Protestantism, which is (in other words) scriptural truth. The Scriptures themselves are both Evangelical and Protestant. The Church of England, as will be shown, is also Evangelical and Protestant; and therefore the Church Association, which was instituted in 1865 for the express purpose of upholding "the doctrine, principles, and order of the Church of England," is likewise both Evangelical and Protestant. As, then, "Evangelical "Protestantism" and Bible truth are the same thing, we must bring all our religious controversies to one final appeal. That final appeal is the word of the living God. This is plainly stated by our sixth Article, which says:—"Holy Scripture containeth all things "necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, "nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, "that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought "requisite or necessary to salvation." The twentieth Article asserts the same:—"It is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that "is contrary to God's Word written." With this agrees the twenty-first Article:—"Things ordained (by Councils) as necessary to salvation "have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared "that they be taken out of Holy Scripture." The word of God is

the sword of the Spirit. "Thus it is written" was the only weapon used by our Lord in His conflict with Satan, and with the scribes and Pharisees and Sadducees; and it must be our only weapon in the religious controversies of the present generation.

I therefore proceed, with God's own Word in my hand, to explain—

I. What is Evangelical Protestantism.

II. What are its effects.

Let us inquire—

I. What is Evangelical Protestantism.

(1.) The word *Evangelical* is derived from a Greek word, which signifies "good news," or "good tidings." And what are these good tidings? "Behold," cried the angel to the shepherds, "I "bring you good tidings, good tidings of great joy; for unto you "is born this day a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord." A Church therefore to be Evangelical must make known by its formularies and its clergy the redemption which is in Christ Jesus. This our Evangelical Church does in every part of its teaching. Our second Article tells us that "the Son, which is the word of the Father, the "very and eternal God, and of one substance with the Father, took "our nature upon Him, and suffered and was crucified, dead and "buried, to reconcile His Father to us; and was made a sacrifice, "not only for our original guilt, but also for all our actual sins." But before we can feel our need of a Saviour we must be aware of our lost and ruined condition by reason of our sins. The Church puts, therefore, into our mouths the confession: "We have erred "and strayed. We have followed too much the devices and desires "of our own wicked hearts. There is no health in us;" and we then state that we have no hope of mercy except through God's promise of pardon, declared unto us in Christ Jesus our Lord. And how is this mercy to be obtained? and how are we, such grievous transgressors, to be esteemed righteous? "We are accounted "righteous before God," replies our eleventh Article, "only for "the merit of our Lord Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own "works or deservings." How plainly, too, are we taught by the thirteenth Article the necessity of our being born again, the necessity of conversion, before these high blessings can become our own! "Works done before the grace of Christ and the "inspiration of His Spirit"—that is before the new birth—"are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith." The whole work of our salvation is here plainly set forth. We must first of all, by the grace of Christ, experience the sin-convincing power or inspiration of the Holy Ghost. We must, then, have faith in the Lord Jesus; faith in His atoning blood; faith in His justifying righteousness; faith in His prevailing mediation. Then, and not till then, shall we bring forth acceptable fruit. Before our conversion, all our good works, so called, are

dead works, loathsome and abominable in God's sight. After our conversion, they are acceptable works: works of faith, made acceptable because we are in Christ. His blood and merits make all we do to become a sweet-smelling savour before our loving and reconciled God and Father. This, in outline, is *Evangelical* teaching.

(2.) We now turn to that which is *Protestant*. At the time of the Reformation, three hundred years ago, the grand controversy of the day was, not with infidelity, but with the superstitions of the Church of Rome. What, therefore, we might have expected took place. Our Reformers, in their summaries of faith, protested chiefly against the errors by which they were at that time confronted. They were not confronted with the denial of the inspiration and authority of the Holy Scriptures; and therefore they did not put forth any special Article upon that particular subject. But that the Divine inspiration of the Scriptures was taken for granted by our Reformers will appear from the following utterances of the Church of England as to the Bible. Article XX says, "God's Word "written." The Collect tells us that it was God "who caused all "Holy Scripture to be written." The Litany teaches us to pray God to endue us with the grace of His Holy Spirit that we may amend our lives "according to His holy Word." And these creeds, we are told, are to be thoroughly received and believed—why? only because they may be proved "by most certain warrants of "Scripture."

In like manner Articles VI, XVII, XVIII, XXI, XXIV, XXV, XXVII, XXXIV all appeal to the Bible alone as the sole, certain, and absolute rule of faith. Also, in the royal declaration prefixed to the Articles, we are reminded twice over that their authority consists in their being "agreeable to God's Word." Moreover at his ordination each candidate is asked, "Do you unfeignedly believe "all the canonical scriptures of the Old and New Testaments?" To which question he answers, "I do believe them." We see then in what light the Church of England regards the Bible. And in what language, quoting their opinions from the Bible, did our Reformers describe the superstitions from which, by God's favour, they had just escaped? Against these superstitions they most earnestly protested. Some men at the present day pretend to be ashamed of the word Protestant. They may as well be ashamed of the Bible. The Bible protests loudly against every form of religious error. See what took place in Israel during the reign of Ahab. There was a great apostacy in the land. The prophet Micaiah was sent for. As he was approaching the king, the royal messenger, for the sake of a hollow peace between truth and error, urged him not to oppose the prevailing sentiment of the day. "Behold," he said to Micaiah, "the words of the prophets declare good unto the "king with one mouth. Let thy word, I pray thee, be as the word "of one of them, and speak that which is good." Now what was Micaiah's noble protest? Micaiah said, "As the Lord liveth,

"what the Lord saith unto me, that will I speak." We see, too, how St. Paul in his day protested against every form of false doctrine. He knew nothing about various schools of thought. Did ritualistic teachers at Colosse try to force upon the people their carnal ordinances, "touch not, taste not, handle not?" "Beware," he sternly said, "lest any man spoil you, through "philosophy and vain deceit, after the traditions of men. Ye are "complete in Christ." Did teachers of Broad Church views attempt to explain away in Corinth the general resurrection, and assert that it was passed already? He protested vehemently against that delusion, and gave the Church of Christ, in consequence, the fullest explanation of the resurrection of Christ and of the dead that is to be found in all the Bible besides. In like manner did he perceive that some of the pillars of the Church were giving way in Galatia? That Peter, and Barnabas and others, for want of spiritual backbone, were making dangerous concessions? He boldly rebuked these timid counsels; and denounced such temporizing with vital truth, rebuking even Peter to his face, because he was to be blamed. Nay with terrible earnestness he protested, that if even an angel from heaven preached wrong doctrine, he would wish him to be accursed. In fact the most precious portions of St. Paul's epistles are his protests against corruptions of the Gospel; and thus, in God's overruling watchfulness, these devices of Satan were ever overruled for the more plain and decided setting forth of the truth of the Gospel. Our Evangelical and Protestant Church following the example of Micaiah, and Paul, and other servants of Christ, teaches her clergy and people to be bold in protest against error, from whatever side that error may arise. Examine our public services. Whenever Archbishops or Bishops are consecrated, or priests are ordained, they acknowledge this. At that solemn moment they are asked two important questions. The first question is, "Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently "all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation through "faith in Jesus Christ?" Then follows another question: "Are "you ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away "all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's Word; and "both privately and openly to call upon and encourage others to do "the same?" "I am ready," is the answer returned, "the Lord "being my helper." Every minister of our Church, whether Archbishop, Bishop, Priest or Deacon, is therefore bound, by his own promise publicly made, to be a Protestant, and to drive away, and to help others to drive away, all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to the teaching of God's inspired truth. What are those erroneous and strange doctrines against which all ministers are bound to protest will now appear. This is the second division of my subject. We have seen what is *Evangelical Protestantism*. Let us now ask

II. What are its effects?

My subject asserts that "Evangelical Protestantism is the only

"sure means of resisting the advances of superstition and infidelity." "The only sure means." I know of no other means. I know of no other barrier or breakwater. The Bible knows of no other barrier or breakwater. Nor does our Evangelical and Protestant Church. Nor does our Evangelical and Protestant Church Association. We see what a barrier Evangelical Protestantism is—

(1) *As regards Superstition.*

The heathen, in their superstitious worship, have gods many and lords many. But Evangelical Protestantism tells us that there is but one God, the Father, and but one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus. In our own Christian land also much superstition unhappily exists. Some persons hold most superstitious views as to the Supper of our Lord. Not a few superstitiously believe that there is some change wrought in the bread and wine after the prayer of consecration. But what says the Communion Service itself? It tells God's faithful, God's believing people, that in that sacrament they feed upon Christ, not with their mouths, but in their hearts, and that too by faith, combined with thanksgiving. "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ "died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanks-"giving." "The body of Christ," the twenty-eighth Article says, "is given, taken and eaten, in the Supper only after a heavenly and "spiritual manner, and the means whereby the body of Christ is "received and eaten is by faith." The same doctrine is clearly stated in our twenty-ninth Article. "Of the wicked which eat not "the body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper." "The "wicked," it says, "although they do carnally and visibly press "with their teeth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, "yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ." Some people again superstitiously imagine that every time they attend the Lord's Supper they are making a fresh offering of Christ for their own sins, and for the sins of others, both the living and dead. But such persons must surely wilfully forget that our service, as plainly as language can speak, protests against such a notion. It protests against such superstition by telling us that, "the Lord Jesus "suffered death upon the Cross for our redemption, and that He "made there (by that one oblation of Himself once offered) a full, "perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the "sins of the whole world." That "one oblation" of Himself was "once" offered—and only once—once for all. But as though that protest were not sufficient, the thirty-first Article on "the one "oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross," is stronger still. That Article says: "The offering of Christ once made is that "perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of "the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other "satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of "masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the priest did "offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain "or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." You

observe those words. The offering of Christ was once made—once only. The repetitions of that offering, the Masses for the quick and dead, are "blasphemous fables," with no authority for them in God's Word. They are also "dangerous deceits." What stronger protest again can we have against that Romish error than that contained in the statement at the close of the office for the Holy Communion? That statement says, that after the Supper, "the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural "substances, and therefore may not be adored (for that were "idolatry, to be abhorred of all faithful Christians); and the "natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and "not here; it being against the truth of Christ's natural body to "be at one time in more places than one." How decisive! The natural body of Christ is in heaven, and cannot be at the same time on ten thousand altars—so called.

There are, again, some superstitious persons, who never lose an opportunity of taking the Lord's Supper, and who appear to imagine that there is no feeding upon Christ except by these outward symbols. What a protest against such gross superstition is the rubric in the office for the Communion of the Sick! "But "if a man, either by reason of extremity of sickness, or for want of "warning in due time to the curate, or for lack of company to receive "with him, or by any other just impediment, do not receive the "sacrament of Christ's body and blood, the curate shall instruct him, "that if he do truly repent him of his sins, and steadfastly believe "that Jesus Christ hath suffered death upon the Cross for him, and "shed His blood for his redemption, earnestly remembering the "benefits He hath thereby, and giving Him hearty thanks therefore, "he doth eat and drink the body and blood of our Saviour Christ "profitably to his soul's health, although he do not receive the "sacrament with his mouth." What more clear? The penitent and believing eat and drink the body and blood of Christ "by faith." They do so, even though they do not receive the bread and wine with their mouth. The best mode, therefore, and indeed the only sure mode, of resisting the advances of superstition, is the repeated enunciation of the Evangelical and Protestant teaching both of the Bible and of our own Church upon this sacrament. Our hope for the future of our Church is that our younger clergy will adopt the clear and distinctive doctrines of grace as set forth in what Prophet Daniel calls "the Scripture of truth." Too many young clergymen have begun with manuals of theology, and have turned, in the second place, not in the first place, to the unerring word of the living God. The result is, their ministry is hazy and indistinct, and they themselves are walking in fetters, and will probably continue to do so all their days.

But Evangelical Protestantism is the only sure means of resisting error, not only as regards *superstition*, but also

(2) *As regards Infidelity.*

Infidelity springs not so much from the head as from the hear

The life goes wrong, and then the head goes wrong also. Free living is for the most part the parent of free thinking. It is the evil heart that engenders the unbelief. To all such infidels and sceptics, and scoffers, the Bible says: "Cease to do evil. Learn "to do well. Wash you and make you clean." God's eternal power and Godhead are so manifest in the works of Creation, that all unbelievers and sceptics are pronounced by God the Holy Ghost to be "without excuse." The Bible describes their wilful folly, by declaring, "It is the fool who has said in his heart there is no "God." But infidelity and scepticism are openly avowed by some professed members even of our Evangelical and Protestant Church. Of such Sadducees we may boldly speak as spake our blessed Lord to the Sadducees of His generation. Those men, like our modern Sadducees, belonged to the National Church; and that National Church, like our own, believed in Moses and the Prophets. And how did our Lord protest against their wilful ignorance? "Ye "do err," He said, "not knowing the Scriptures." Some of these broad and lax members of our Church, in their wide and loose charity, openly avow their belief that no one will be condemned for his views, if his conduct be only amiable and sincere. But what says the eighteenth Article of our Church? "They also are to be "accursed that presume to say that every man shall be saved by the "law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his "life according to that law, and the light of nature. For Holy Scrip- "ture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby "men must be saved." Other misguided members of our Church, both ministers and people, have entertained and published the most unsatisfactory statements as to the duration of future punishment. It is an awful subject for our finite capacities to contemplate. But in this, as in every other religious question, we must not ask, what we think, or what we desire, but what are the statements of God's inspired Word. Now that Word, both in the original Hebrew and in the original Greek, uses the very same expressions to denote the duration of the happiness in heaven, and the duration of the misery in hell. If, therefore, heaven is for ever; hell must be for ever also. Our Evangelical and Protestant Church, following Scripture, speaks in the Athanasian Creed of "everlasting life," and of "everlasting "fire." In our Burial Service it also speaks of the "resurrection to "eternal life," and also of the "bitter pains of eternal death." On this point every clergyman, by his ordination vows, is bound to receive the plain teaching of his own Church. This is well set forth as regards the Thirty-nine Articles, the preface to which says, "No "man hereafter shall either print or preach, to draw the Article aside "any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning "thereof; and shall not put his own sense or comment to be the "meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal and "grammatical sense."

I think enough has now been said to show that not only the Bible, but that our Church also, is both Evangelical and Protestant, and that the best, and indeed the only sure method of

resisting the advances both of superstition and infidelity, is by clearly setting forth the precious truths revealed to us in God's Word. And those clergy do the best service to our Church, who consistently follow her Evangelical and Protestant teaching, and who are resolved, like St. Paul of old, to know nothing among their hearers save Jesus Christ and Him crucified. "Preach Christ "Jesus the Lord," said Bishop Reynolds two hundred years ago. "Determine to know nothing among your people but Christ crucified. "Let His Name and grace, His Spirit and love, triumph in the midst "of all your sermons. Let your great end be to glorify Him in the "heart, to render Him amiable and precious in the eyes of His people, "to lead them to Him as a sanctuary to protect them, a propitiation "to reconcile them, a treasure to enrich them, a physician to heal "them, an advocate to present them and their services to God, as "wisdom to counsel them, as righteousness to justify, as sanctification "to renew, as redemption to save. Let Christ be the diamond to "shine in the bosom of all your sermons." Those ministers who most closely follow such advice are most likely to stay the plague of modern superstition and infidelity, as well as build up the waste places of our Church and restore the foundations of many generations. This idea was well explained some forty years ago at one of our Church Pastoral Aid anniversaries by the excellent Dr. John Bird Sumner, then Bishop of Chester, and afterwards Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. He was referring to the attacks then being made upon our Church by political dissenters. "If you were to "ask one of these agitators," said the Bishop, "which he would "prefer,—a hundred pamphlets in defence of the Church, and "widely distributed in any particular parish, or whether he would "prefer one Curate such as the Church Pastoral Society delights to "support,—what do you think," asked the Bishop, "would be his "answer? His answer would doubtless be, 'By all means print "and publish your pamphlets; scatter them broadcast in every "house and workshop; but, I pray you, keep back, oh! keep back, "that Curate, that Protestant and Evangelical Curate, or my "occupation will be gone.'" May God, in His great mercy to our Church, raise up many *such* clergymen in all the parishes of our land! In which case the occupation of the Church Association will also be gone. The need for its operations will no longer exist.

But now, leaving controversial topics, I wish to conclude by adding briefly two practical and spiritual remarks. We have considered—

I. What is Evangelical Protestantism.

II. What are its effects.

I think we ought to carry away from our meeting here to-day a deep sense of

(1) *The need of prayer for our Church.*

Do we need Evangelical and Protestant ministers for our Evangelical and Protestant Church of England? Such ministers are to

be had. They are to be had from Christ, the great Head of the Church. Our ascended Lord has received such gifts for men; and these precious gifts, converted and able priests, whose lips keep knowledge, He is waiting and willing to bestow. But for this He will be inquired after. This is His own remedy for the many ills of our day. "The harvest is great," He said, "and the "labourers are few." And what is the remedy He prescribes? "Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He will send forth "labourers into His harvest." The harvest is His; and the labourers are His, given in answer to our constant and fervent supplications. Let us therefore wrestle with the Lord Jesus, as did Israel of old, and give Him no rest, till from our Universities, Theological Colleges, and public schools, many young men, filled with the Holy Ghost, are raised up, to take the places of their seniors, who will soon pass away into higher and holier services in the upper sanctuary. At Oxford and at Cambridge, and at other schools of the sons of the prophets, there are already established prayer unions for this important object. May those daily and weekly supplications go up through the mediation of Christ, as a sweet smelling savour before God's throne! And God grant that the same result may follow now as followed in the days of our Lord! The Lord Jesus first of all appointed His twelve Apostles. He then appointed other evangelists, in number seventy. And for what purpose did He appoint them? Those seventy He sent, we read, into every city and place into which "He Himself would "come." "Into which He Himself would come." Let us pray therefore that He will raise up and send forth Evangelical and Protestant incumbents and curates into all our parishes! and let us pray that into every city, and town, and village, and place into which He sends those ministers "He Himself will come." And what will follow? His so coming will be, by the Holy Spirit's presence and power, as life from the dead to our Church and nation. Yea, so come, Lord. Come, Lord Jesus.

My last brief remark is this. We see not only our need of prayer, but also

(2) *The need of the Holy Spirit's teaching for our Church.*

Blessed are our eyes, for they see! Blessed are our ears, for they hear! Truths which David among the kings, and Isaiah among the prophets, desired to know, we, happily, through God's grace, now possess. But those truths cannot be comprehended without the Spirit's teaching. That spiritual teaching is necessary for the hearer. It is equally necessary for the teacher. How properly, therefore, were we clergy admonished at our ordination to pray for "the heavenly assistance of the Holy Ghost!" And why so? That "by the daily reading and weighing of the Scrip- "tures" we might wax riper and stronger day by day in our ministry, and that so, by the blessing of the Holy Spirit, there may be left no place in our various spheres of duty for superstition or infidelity, or for any other "error in religion, or for viciousness in life." Without the Holy Spirit the Bible itself is a dark and unintelligible

book. The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God. They are foolishness unto him. They are spiritually discerned —discerned by the Holy Spirit's teaching. Alas, then, how many are going wrong for want of this spiritual teaching! These men, both ministers and laymen, believe the Bible. They believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God. But here they stop. They treat theology as they treat any secular science. Knowing the plan of salvation, however, is not accepting it. What is the solemn fact? A man may know his Bible accurately from Genesis to Revelation. He may have thoroughly examined the Old Testament in its original Hebrew, and the New Testament in its original Greek. He may have weighed all the controverted passages and disputed texts. He may have even written and preached upon all those subjects; and yet, after all, may never have received the saving teaching of the Holy Spirit, and be therefore altogether destitute of that faith in Christ which delivers the soul from hell, and lands it amid the glories of heaven. "How many fathers of a "country," exclaims Mr. Richard Cecil, "how many bulwarks of a "Church, have secured everything in both, except their own souls! "Have defended the faith, and yet perished in unbelief! Opposed "Satan in one way, and yet lived his captives in another! My "heart," he adds, "has yearned at marking a great man, wise in "his generation, skilfully holding the reins of some vast enterprise, "grasping with a master mind its various relations, and penetrating "with an eagle-eye—into what? Into everything except himself. "A fallen spirit in a disordered world! Having a day of salvation! "and that brief day neglected! How natural," he says, "was "the dying language of such an one, when, with his last breath, "he exclaimed, 'The battle is fought—the battle is fought; but "the victory is lost for ever.'"

What ruinous self-deception! May God the Holy Ghost teach all our teachers! May the same Holy Ghost rest upon all our congregations! May He rest upon them in His new-creating and sanctifying power! And to this end may we each put up for England the prayer which dear Robert M'Cheyne offered forty years ago for his beloved Scotland:—

> "Give me a man of God the truth to preach,
> A house of prayer within convenient reach,
> Seat-rents the poorest of the poor can pay,
> A spot so small one pastor can survey,—
> Give these, and give the Spirit's genial shower,
> England will be a garden all in flower."

"Awake, O north wind; and come, thou south; blow upon my "garden, that the spices thereof may flow out. Let my Beloved "come into His garden, and eat His pleasant fruits."

To be obtained at the Office of the Church Association, 14, Buckingham Street, Strand, London.
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16th Thousand.]

THE RIGHTS OF THE LAITY IMPERILLED BY THE SPREAD OF SACERDOTALISM AND THE INACTION OF THE BISHOPS.

By THOMAS SMELT, Esq.

Paper read at the Conference of the Church Association, in Willis's Rooms, King Street, St. James's, on Wednesday, 10th May, 1882.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—Having been invited by the Council of the Church Association to prepare a paper on "*The Rights of the Laity imperilled by the spread of Sacerdotalism and the inaction of the Bishops*," I desire at the outset to say that I approach the subject as a Layman, heartily and intelligently attached to the Church of England as purified at the Reformation, and as now established by law. Moreover, I entirely sympathize with one of her most distinguished prelates,* by whom she was described as "The brightest and most glorious light that has arisen in the "Christian world since the Apostolic times. By the principles "which she has maintained, and by the many burning and shining "lights to whom she has given birth, she has done more for the "advancement of Christianity than any Church or Communion "under heaven since the days of the Apostles." Neither do I doubt that the Reformed Church of England is made up of precisely the same constituent parts—Laymen, Deacons, and Presbyters—as that which Paul himself addressed at Philippi, and therefore if at times I speak strongly, it will be, I trust, in no spirit of offence, but simply from an earnest love for the truth.

The Laity, it can hardly be gainsayed, occupy at the present time an anomalous position in the Church of England, for, although in point of numbers they are entitled to commanding influence, they are nevertheless treated as little better than a nonentity by the so-called "priests" of the period. It is doubtless a matter of supreme importance to find a remedy for this glaring and growing evil—for the aggrandizement of the priesthood means the subjection

* Bishop Jebb, Bishop of Limerick, from whose life the extract is taken.

of the laity. Yet the problem scarcely falls within the scope of the present paper, and I merely allude to it for the purpose of strengthening my argument as to the urgent need of contending more earnestly for such of our inherited rights and liberties as happily still remain to us though constantly threatened by the encroachments of SACERDOTALISM.

PRETENSIONS OF THE PRIESTHOOD.

Evidence of the pretensions of the priesthood meets us on every side. It may be found (1) in their assumption of superior wisdom in all questions of "revelation"—in (2) their claim to superior sanctity in all matters of worship, and (3) in their imperious demand for a virtual independence of lay-control in all ecclesiastical concerns.* But this assumption of infallibility—for it scarcely amounts to less—on the part of a portion of the clergy must have received encouragement in high places, or it could never have attained that hold upon society which it now boasts. In other words the Bishops must be held responsible. Indeed, if we criticize the mode of dealing with these Church conspirators—for such is their proper designation—adopted by our spiritual rulers, we can

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* The extent to which the "rights" of the laity are endangered by the proposed alterations in the Ecclesiastical Courts has been demonstrated in an admirable paper by Dr. Fleming, read at the Conference of the Church Association in November last, wherein the writer triumphantly disposes of the idea of "Sacerdotal Supremacy" to which, at various epochs of English history, the priest-party have laid claim. And he shows how in former days the nettle of this ecclesiastical danger was firmly grasped by the secular authorities. Thus, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth when, as now, the peace of the Church was imperilled by the negligence or half-heartedness of recalcitrant prelates, the Privy Council of the period (1573) addressed the following pungent letter to the Bishop of Winchester—

"The fault why such diversities have of late been taken up in many churches, and therefore contentions and unseemly disputations risen is—in her Highness' opinion—*most in you, to whom the special care of Ecclesiastical matters doth appertain, and who have your Visitations, Episcopal and Archidiaconal, and your Synods, and such other meetings of the clergy, first and chiefly ordained for that purpose, to keep all churches in your Diocese in one uniform and godly order.* * * * * For nothing is required but that godly and seemly orders allowed by the Queen's Majesty and the whole Realm be kept. *The which if you did not wink at and dissemble, there needed not these new Proclamations and strait calling upon.*"—*Strype's Life of Parker*, folio, bk. iv, c. 36, p. 454.

Dr. Fleming concludes with this timely warning—

"If," he says, "the laity are to have their rights adroitly suppressed, the multiplied and multiplying enemies of the Church will be able to found their agitation against her on the better plea of justice, and in no long time to insist with some force, that as the Church of England has broken the Constitutional compacts by ceasing to be the 'Protestant Reformed religion,' it shall also cease to be 'established by law'" (p. 16)—*Existing tendencies to encroach on the Rights of the Laity of the Church of England, with special reference to the proposed alterations in the Ecclesiastical Courts*, by I. P. Fleming, Esq., M.A., D.C.L. (p. 16).

come to no other conclusion than that *they* are greatly more to blame than the inferior clergy. For have they not at all times been ready to condone the obliquity and contumacy of these law-breaking priests? Have they not repeatedly encouraged them by the selection of their churches for ordinations, confirmations, visitations, and other services? Have they not continually sought them out for high preferment, to the exclusion and discouragement of the more faithful Evangelical clergy? These questions really admit of but one answer; it may be well, however, to lay before you proofs confirmatory of what I have thus briefly advanced.

My subject, you will observe, assumes three things:—

I. That the laity have definite rights.

II. That those rights are imperilled by the spread of sacerdotalism, and—

III. That this peril has been increased, if not entirely occasioned, by the inaction of the Bishops.

I.—Rights of the Laity.

In the consideration of the first of these propositions—viz., the rights of the laity—we are at once met by the difficulty of defining them, due in part to disuse or neglect but in a still greater degree to the way in which the existing Ecclesiastical machinery is worked. I doubt, indeed, whether, if our Church-members were polled, one in ten would say they had any rights whatever! Surely this must be admitted to be a very serious state of things! It proves the absolute necessity of contending more strenuously for our Protestant birthright.

Right to have their Church-services properly performed.

(1) That the laity *have* rights—*many and most important rights*—may, as I proceed to show, be readily proved. First in order may be placed the *right* so unmistakably declared by the late Lord Chief Justice Cockburn—the right, namely, of every member of the Church of England to have the services of his parish church—and if of the parish church, so of all others—administered according to law! Here is a judgment which would seem to admit of no dispute, but our adversaries, who would be a law unto themselves, ask us, Where is this law? Our reply is, that the law is to be found under those rules and directions within which our Church has grown—viz., the Acts of Parliament, the Injunctions, the Canons, the Articles, the Homilies, the Royal declaration how these are to be understood (*i.e.*, in the prefix to the Articles), and in the common usage of more than three hundred years. If, even this be deemed insufficient, we can further triumphantly point to the decisions of the Ecclesiastical Courts of our own day, which decisions, whenever appealed against by our opponents, have been almost invariably upheld by the highest Court of the realm.* But this judgment of the Lord Chief Justice deals with another and still more precious right of the

* It must not be forgotten that these decisions have been reached by the various courts of law in studying the very acts and ordinances to which we refer.

laity, I mean that which makes it competent for them to insist upon the fulfilment of the solemn pledge given by the Bishops and clergy at their ordination—viz., that *the doctrines preached should be in accord with the Articles and formularies of the Established Church.* Now, these Articles and our right to be instructed in accordance with the scriptural doctrines they contained were, it should never be forgotten, purchased for us by the blood of the Fathers of the Reformation.

Right to an Open Bible.

(2) Another inestimable privilege is the possession of an open Bible, and our *right* to the private interpretation thereof. Herein lies the true secret of England's greatness. Yet this "right" will be taken away from us if priestcraft should ever regain the power —which is still exercised in Catholic countries—of forbidding the free circulation of God's Holy Word.

Right to manage one's own Family.

(3) Then there is the *right* which each head of a family is entitled to exercise over his own household, but which is practically destroyed by the intrusion of the priest who, as their spiritual director, claims the right of tendering secret counsel to our sons and daughters. And how can the rights of the father and the husband co-exist with the so-called "right" of the priest to subject a wife or a daughter to the foul ordeal of the Confessional? Family rights are also continually set at nought by "priests" and Lady-Superioresses who entice young women into Sisterhoods or Nunneries.*

Educational Rights.

(4) It is well-known that the priest-party among ourselves, at an early period of the Oxford movement, turned their attention to schools and colleges, over which they claimed to exercise supreme authority. To this we owe the Diocesan Theological Colleges which are springing up in every see, and which—when the cordon is completed—will enable the Bishops to refuse ordination to any candidates but such as have been educated under the shadow of their own cathedrals, and indoctrinated with their own sacerdotal views. When these episcopal fetters are perfected—and only a few links are now wanting—the *right* of the laity to any voice in the education of their clergy will have been completely swept away.†

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* Strange to say prelates are to be found who, like the late and the present Bishop of Oxford, actually favour these establishments. Bishop Phillpotts (Exeter) did so until the disclosures in Miss Sellon's case scared him away.

† The Woodard Schools—so called after Dr. Woodard, Provost of St. Nicholas College, Lancing, and one of the Manchester Canons Residentiary—constitute another danger to the Protestantism and therefore to the freedom of our native land. They are managed entirely in the interests of sacerdotalism, with which they are rapidly, though perhaps unconsciously, leavening the middle classes hitherto regarded as the stronghold of Protestantism.

Other Rights in Jeopardy.

(5) Not less serious is the intention, openly avowed by more than one Bishop, of throwing all missionary or eleemosynary collections into a common diocesan fund, of which the right rev. prelate and his council would claim the distribution. Need I say that under this autocratic arrangement congregations would be practically deprived of their *right* to support *only* those societies which they can conscientiously approve. We now approach the second division of our subject, *viz.* :—

II.—The Rights of the Laity imperilled by the Spread of Sacerdotalism.

But what *is* this evil thing called "Sacerdotalism," by which the rights of the laity are so seriously imperilled? To this question I unhesitatingly reply that "Sacerdotalism" is the assumption by a *minister* (διακονος or δουλος) * of the name and office of a *priest* (ιερευς—*sacerdos*) in virtue of which he represents himself as commissioned by God to (*a*) offer a propitiatory sacrifice for sin; (*b*) receive confessions; (*c*) inflict penance; and (*d*) grant absolution free and full as if pronounced by our Lord and Master Jesus Christ! These blasphemous pretensions, at which I shudder as I write them down, are not of England but of Rome! They are born of Popery, as Popery itself is born of the "Father of lies!" I speak thus plainly in order that we may rightly understand the nature of the struggle in which we are engaged. The easy-going half-hearted Protestant may call this strong language, yet the thorough-going Ritualist not only rejoices in the title of "*priest*" but longs for union with the harlot-church of Rome! Thus, in the examination of the Rev. J. E. Bennett (of Frome) before the Ritual Commission, the following questions and answers are recorded:—

"Do you consider yourself a sacrificing Priest?" Answer—"Yes." "In fact *sacerdos*—a sacrificing Priest?" Answer—"Distinctly so." "Then you think you offer a Propitiatory Sacrifice?" Answer—"Yes, I think I do offer a Propitiatory Sacrifice."

So, too, the (late) Rev. Edward Stuart in his book "The Mediation of the Church," explicitly declares that 'by the real presence

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* See 1 Cor. iv, 5, where Paul speaks thus plainly of the position of himself and brethren—"For we preach not ourselves but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants (δουλοι) for Jesus' sake."

In the same connection the following extract from a Lecture by Hugh McNeile deserves careful study:—

"The Apostles never called themselves priests. Neither is this because they are altogether reticent concerning themselves and their office. St. Peter called himself an 'elder.' St. John twice called himself 'the elder,' and he describes his office as that of a 'herald.' . . St. Paul describes his office as that of an ambassador for Christ, and glories—as the climax of the grace given to him—that he should be a preacher among the Gentiles of the unsearchable riches of Christ."—*Lecture on the Confessional*, p. 18.

of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament, veiled beneath the form of bread and wine, we offer before God—*Christ himself who hung upon the Cross, the very victim which was once for all slain!*" Surely the power of blasphemy can no further go!

As regards the Confessional and the granting forgiveness of sins by the so-called "priest" it may suffice to point to the evidence given before the above-named Commission by the Rev. Messrs. Bennett and Wagner (Brighton), both of whom admitted that they practised confession, imposed penances, and gave absolution. Dr. Pusey's book about Confession—translated from the French work of the Abbé Gaume—furnishes a more recent and still more startling testimony to the rapid extension of the plague.

But it would be a work of supererogation to adduce further evidence to establish the prevalence of practices which are not denied. On the contrary they are gloried in. "We *are* sacrificing priests," say they. "We *are* commissioned to hear confessions." "We *have* the "power to forgive sin." And so on. In fact they make a superstition of Christianity in order that, like the Pagans of old, they may mystify their dupes by the exhibition of their pretended powers. Or we may compare them with the Pharisees in our Saviour's time, as described by Him, who judgeth all things rightly, in the 23rd chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. How well the distinctive marks of those old Pharisees fit our modern Sacerdotalists! And may not our own Lord's scathing denunciation apply to both? Men will hardly dare to complain of a lack of charity in what fell from *His* lips.

The late Dean McNeile concluded a Lecture on the Confessional—delivered for the Church Association, in St. James's Hall, a few years before his death—in these memorable words:—

"Oh, beware how you open your heart to a fellow-sinner. You may for mutual benefit confess your sins one to another, but that is the mutual confidence of friendship, and has nothing to do with the prostration of priesthood. Keep clear of the Confessional on earth. If it ever prevail again in England, farewell to domestic peace—farewell to mutual trust and confidence between parent and child—aye, between husband and wife! England have done with it! Our forefathers discarded it! *In the name of God never receive it again!*"

Yes, he who wields this tremendous power holds us hopeless and helpless in his grasp! I know not how I can better conclude this portion of my subject than by giving an extract from the learned Blackstone (*Com.*, vol. iv, p. 372):—

"However, he remarks, in times of ignorance and superstition that monster in true policy of a body of men, residing in the bowels of a state, and yet independent of its laws, may for a while subsist, yet, when learning and rational religion have a little enlightened men's minds, society can no longer endure an absurdity so gross as must destroy its very fundamentals, for by the original contract of government, the price of protection by the united force of individuals is that of obedience to the united will of the community. This united will is declared in the laws of the land, and that united force is exerted in their due and universal execution."—*Com.*, vol. iv, p. 372.

In this noble passage, Blackstone has not only rebuked the presumption of those vain ecclesiastics who would be a law unto themselves, but has also shivered to atoms all clerical pretensions whatsoever!

III.—The Spread of Sacerdotalism due to the inaction of the Bishops.

I approach this division of my subject with much reluctance and unfeigned sorrow. Yet I cannot shrink from avowing my full conviction that the Bishops must, as a body, be held responsible for the spread of the frightful leprosy of Sacerdotalism within the confines of our Church. We read in our Lord's parable of the Sower that "while men slept the enemy came and sowed tares" in a field which had been intended and expected to produce a crop of wheat. And who, but the great adversary, could have scattered the seeds of evil in a Church which had emerged from the Reformation renewed in the spirit of her youth and fresh as the flowers in the garden of Eden! For three hundred years she has held faithful communion with God, yet now, alas, choked with the weeds of worldliness and superstition, her vitality seems to be well nigh gone, and she herself about to sink once more into the fatal embrace of the harlot of Rome! We know, indeed, that "it needs be that "offences come," nevertheless a woe is pronounced on those by whom the offence cometh. When the Bishops assume the responsibility of their high and holy calling they are required to affirm with all the solemnity of an oath, that "Holy Scripture containeth sufficiently "all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation," and that they would "teach and maintain nothing is required of necessity "to eternal salvation, but what may be concluded and proved by the "same." They vowed "faithfully to exercise themselves in and call "upon God by prayer for the true understanding of the same, that "they might withstand and convince the gainsayers." They professed themselves "ready with all faithful diligence to banish and "drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's "Word, and both privately and openly to call upon and encourage "others to do the same." Such was the promise, but how has it been fulfilled? Have the Bishops kept these vows so solemnly taken? Are there at this time no "strange doctrines contrary to "God's Word" taught in the Church of which they are the chief shepherds? Are there no "gainsayers" eating her bread, breaking down her walls, and poisoning her wells? All these questions admit, alas, of but one answer! There is scarce a diocese from which instances of episcopal unfaithfulness are not forthcoming. They would fill a volume. But as the limits of my allotted space will only admit of a few cases, I shall take my examples from some of the more important dioceses, commencing with the Metropolitan see.

Examples of Episcopal Unfaithfulness.

London.—The influence exercised by the Bishop of London for good or evil is necessarily immense; indeed, it may be described as scarcely, if at all, inferior to that of the Primate. The example which he sets in matters of Ritual is certain to be imitated far and wide, hence, therefore, the importance in dealing with such questions, of a rigid adherence on his part to what is lawful and right. Now it cannot be denied that All Saints', Margaret Street, and St. Paul's, Knightsbridge—with its appanage, St. Barnabas, Pimlico—have done far more than any other churches in London to spread the Sacerdotal plague. Their incumbents were busily engaged in their Romish work at least twenty years before a stone of St. Alban's, Holborn, or St. Peter's, London Docks, had been laid. No one can therefore hold the present Bishop of London (Dr. Jackson) responsible for the appointment of such heresiarchs as (the late) Mr. Richards, Mr. Liddell, or Mr. Bennett. But although during their incumbency the Bishop did not attempt to stop their un-Protestant ways, it was fully expected that whenever a vacancy occurred he would make a faithful use of his powers as Patron and deal the Romanists a deadly blow. Accordingly, when some ten years ago Mr. Richards died, no one could have imagined that a notorious Romanizer—Mr. Berdmore Compton—would have been appointed to succeed him; and this, too, after plainly telling the Bishop that he intended to persist in the use of vestments and other of Mr. Richards' Ritualistic ways! Yet, so it was! and the same betrayal of a solemn trust was re-enacted last year on the occasion of Mr. Liddell's resignation of the Rectory of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, when, with less surprise, perhaps, but with equal indignation, Protestant Churchmen heard of the appointment of Mr. Montague Villiers as his successor!*

Norwich.—A recent number of the *St. James's Gazette* contains a remarkable paragraph which, in the absence of further information, seems to cast a kind of reflection on an amiable prelate who had always hitherto been accounted Evangelical.

"Yesterday the Norwich Diocesan Conference began its sittings at that city, the Bishop of Norwich presiding. After an address by the Bishop, many subjects were discussed, but the chief interest centred in the report of a Committee on Church Discipline, *advocating the restoration of the power of excommunication and other ecclesiastical censures for schismatics and notorious evil-doers.* This provoked comment from the lay members of the Conference, among them Mr. C. S. Read, who moved the rejection of the report and characterized as absurd the pretensions of the priesthood in the present day, and said it was useless for them to struggle against public opinion. Other laymen spoke in equally strong terms and the report was lost by a large majority."—*St. James's Gazette*, Nov. 4, 1881.

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* Mr. Villiers is a warden of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, and preached not long ago [in St. Barnabas', Pimlico] the anniversary sermon of that pestilent Society.

LICHFIELD.—Bishop Maclagan, whose inquisitorial questions to his clergy have not yet been forgotten or forgiven, has now resolved to extend the scrutiny to lay-readers and so close the door of (Protestant) heresy in that quarter. These "readers" had heretofore been licensed by the Bishop simply on the nomination of the incumbent. But this lax practice can no longer be allowed :—

"I have to announce to you," says Dr. Maclagan to his clergy, "that there will be in future only one order of authorized lay-helpers in the diocese who will bear the name of lay-readers. To each of these a commission will be issued by the Bishop. * * I have long felt that some further securities were needed with a view to ascertaining the fitness of the lay-readers to undertake this most important duty. I therefore propose that in *every case* where it is desired that the lay-reader should be engaged in this work, some *special inquiry shall be made under my direction* as to his qualifications, both as regards the sufficiency of his knowledge and the soundness of his faith."

But perhaps the most extraordinary jumble ever laid to the charge of a Bishop was Dr. Maclagan's attempt to compromise matters between the Ritualistic incumbents and non-Ritualistic inhabitants of three important Staffordshire churches, viz.: Christ Church and St. Andrew's (Wolverhampton), and St. Matthew's (Smethwick).

This will best be understood by a few extracts from the memorable remonstrance addressed to the Bishop by the aggrieved churchwardens (Messrs. Howard, Butcher and Fowler) of the several churches.

"Your lordship (they say) has, in fact, substituted the personal rule of an individual for the constitutional rule of a Bishop of the English Church ; *and you have avowedly placed your own discretion above the law you are directed to administer and the authority you are pledged to obey.* Consequently, in our capacity as the Church's and State's appointed protectors of our fellow-parishioners' rights, we demur to the grounds and decline to accept the results of your decision. * * * What, then, is the result ? You forbid lighted candles at Christ Church, you permit them at St. Andrew's ; you prohibit the mixed chalice to Mr. Glover, and grant it to Mr. Bodington ; you disapprove of the *Agnus Dei* at Smethwick, and continue it at Wolverhampton. But lighted candles, the mixed chalice, and *Agnus Dei* have been condemned by the Ecclesiastical Courts, yet you allow and disallow them in the same decision. Is not this to put down the law of the Church and realm, and to put up your own opinion ? By this hopeless tangle of inconsistent and illegal directions your lordship has defeated the Archbishop's endeavours to appease diversity—nay, you have actually embittered it."—*Stafford Record*, Jan. 4, 1879.

ROCHESTER.—On Good Friday the Bishop of Rochester conducted the service known as "Three Hours' Agony" in one of the churches in his diocese.

LINCOLN.—Another prelate who has disappointed Protestant hopes is the present learned occupant of Lincoln's ancient see—Dr. Wordsworth—whose identification of the Roman Church with

the Babylonian harlot (*Hulsean Lectures*, 1848) might well have justified a sanguine expectation that however lukewarm his episcopal brethren, he, at least, would stand firm and true. But all such hopes were dissipated by the Bishop's appointment of Mr. Yeld, a strong Sacerdotalist, to the important vicarage of St. John's, Nottingham, where his Ritualistic acts and Romanizing propensities so scandalized his flock, that in 1879 he was formally "presented" by Mr. Bradshaw, the parish-warden, on three grounds. The Bishop, however, distinctly refused to receive his presentment! Moreover, when last year Mr. Bradshaw confined himself to a simple letter of complaint, the Bishop again refused to receive it, this time on the ground that he ought to have made a presentment! Yet what could Mr. Bradshaw do more? If he complained by letter the Bishop insisted on a formal presentment, and if he sent the presentment the Bishop refused to receive it! This may seem a strange mode of discharging the claims of episcopal duty, but one thing is clear, *the escape of the culprit is secured!* And the same may be said of the operation of the episcopal veto, which has made the Public Worship Regulation Act of none effect.*

SALISBURY.—Turn we now to a prelate whose antecedents have always been the reverse of Evangelical. In a letter addressed last year to his Archdeacons the BISHOP OF SALISBURY evinces a strange anxiety to retain and strengthen what he is solemnly bound to discard and destroy. Speaking of Ritualism and Ritualists, he eulogizies the latter as "*in real loyalty to the Church of Eng-*"*land*" (!), and then not unnaturally pleads for a recognition of the former! "Why," he asks with incredible effrontery, "*why should* "*not the Church of England tolerate things which the Ancient Church* "*considered good and useful?*" But what may be the "Ancient "Church" to which the Bishop alludes? The only "Ancient "Church" that faithful members of the Church of England ought to know is the Church of Apostolic times, whereas the "Ancient "Church" of the Bishop's affections is that which the English Church of the Reformation cast off as abounding in "blasphemous "fables and dangerous deceits."

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* At the recent Archidiaconal visitation Mr. Bradshaw—acting on the episcopal suggestion—*did* "present" Mr. Yeld. We shall soon see what will come of it. That it is high time something should be done is proved by a simple recital of the points as given in *St. John's Magazine*—an excellent periodical which Mr. Bradshaw has provided as an antidote to the rival Magazine circulated by the Vicar. Among the "points" complained of, may be mentioned the taking off, *kissing*, and putting on again a coloured stole during a Baptismal service on the 9th of last October. Also that—

"On Tuesday, the 29th of November last, a coffin containing a corpse, was taken into St. John's Church *about ten o'clock at night* and laid on some tressels at the east end of the centre aisle. Mr. Yeld and a number of persons were present while the coffin was there, and were kneeling as if in prayer. Mr. Yeld informed me that they were keeping a night watch."

MANCHESTER.—It will scarcely be expected that I should close this branch of my subject without a few words regarding the state of things in Manchester. Our Bishop, it will be remembered, has publicly stated that he had no Ritualism in his Diocese, and, at all events that he could count all the churches with such proclivities on the fingers of one hand. Well! "if thy right hand offend thee cut it off"! Anyhow the Bishop would now hardly dare to repeat his former statement, for owing to his inaction the tide of heresy is rising. I admit that at the Diocesan Synod last year he deprecated Ritualism, but at the same time he requested the clergy present to attend a musical celebration of the Holy Communion! To this however some fifteen of his clergy, all honour to them, refused to go, as they could not countenance so profane a method of celebrating the Lord's Supper! * This warning, however, seemed to be thrown away, for before the meeting broke up the Bishop held up the Ritual of the Cathedral—regulated by one of the most thorough-paced Sacerdotalists of the day, Dean Cowie—as *the* standard for the rest of the Diocese! No wonder that on Good Friday, and to raise, as I suppose, this standard a little higher, the Dean had caused the altar to be decked out like a baby-house, with a huge cross *apparently* resting upon it, and another cross of still larger dimensions suspended over it. A crown of real thorns fresh from Palestine—said by some to be an exact reproduction of the Crown which our Saviour wore at the crucifixion—was laid upon the Altar, the whole being covered with a pall of crape! Can superstition go further? What right, I would ask, has any Bishop to set up a standard other than that of the Church? The Bishop is the Church's Servant, and is quite as amenable to the laws of the Church as the very poorest of his clergy. He is there to mark well her bulwarks and to see that they be not thrown down or over-passed. Let him recall the words, "Behold, to obey is better "than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams." But, what does it all mean? Have we ceased to be seekers after the truth and consequently exposed ourselves to be blown about with every wind of doctrine? And yet with a rare audacity we continue to call ourselves "the Church of England," apparently unconscious that the Church of England of fifty years ago would have utterly disowned us! And rightly. Certain it is that if we held the Truth *then*, we are forsaking it *now!* We may well exclaim that an enemy hath done this. To my mind it is the standard—not of Ritual but—of patronage that needs to be raised. Men are often appointed to high offices for the sake of their scholarship alone, but Regius Professorships in Greek or Hebrew are no tests of sanctity. We want believers! Converted men! Men guided by the Holy Spirit! Praying men! Men who have found their way to the Cross and who can lead others by the same road. And I say it most solemnly that until this be the rule and standard of

* To make the matter more emphatic, these fifteen faithful clergy handed in a *written* protest.

patronage our old enemy the devil will be found more than a match for us!

Failure of the "Catholic Movement."

A movement so vast and so extended as that which is known as the "Catholic Movement" cannot be wholly inoperative, and if it has done no good it must have inflicted grievous harm. In concluding this paper I would therefore inquire as briefly as possible whether this "movement" with all its innovations has really conferred any benefit whatever either upon our Church or country. And the answer to my question will not be far to seek. Take for example a leading article which appeared last Easter in the *Times*, and in which the writer, commenting on Good Friday, observes:—

"A painful use of such anniversaries is to suggest a religious stock-taking for individuals and for nations," and then turning upon the Church, as "by its position answerable for all which ought to be done and is left undone," he proceeds to remark that—"an attitude of indifference is the fashion of this expiring section of the nineteenth century."

The obvious conclusion from all this being that, to judge from the religious indifference of the people, the work of the Church in the present day *is a failure!* But the *Church Times*, the chief organ of the priest-party, writing (April 14) on a kindred topic is compelled to admit that,—

"In view of the large number of pleasure-seekers on Good Friday" . . . "*the Church, or indeed any form of Christianity, has not touched the heart of the great British public.* At least, it seems only reasonable to suppose, that if the people were influenced in the slightest degree by Christianity they must, perforce, cease to regard the death-day of its Lord and Master as a fitting time for pleasure and rejoicing, approaching in form and spirit to something like the old Pagan saturnalia."—*Church Times*, April 14, 1882.

We see, then, that what the leading secular organ asserts, the leading Ritualistic organ confirms! Nor does there lack episcopal testimony to the same fact. Thus, the Bishop of Oxford, deprecating the outspokenness of the Reading Protestants in the matter of Mr. Green's imprisonment, expresses his extreme regret—

"That these questions, on one side or the other side, should occupy the thoughts and embitter the feelings of Christians apparently unconscious of the threatening attitude of Secularism in every country of Europe, and of *the increasing laxity of morals in our native land.*"—*Guardian*, Dec. 14th, 1881.

But Dean Burgon, with a clearer eye and bolder spirit, does not hesitate to put the saddle on the right horse. For, speaking of the "infidel" scare by which Canon Liddon—like Bishop Mackarness and others of the party—seeks to frighten us into a toleration of Ritualism, he says plainly:—

"Let me not be reminded that we are threatened by another and a greater danger on the side of unbelief, as a reason for regarding Mediævalism with favour. I answer—That *one* ugly pit yawns on my left hand, is no reason what-

ever I why should overlook *another* ghastly pit which yawns on my right. I am not, I suppose, reduced to the alternative of choosing between no religion at all, and this spurious thing calling itself 'Ritualism,'—this bad imitation of what is seen and read in Roman Catholic Churches? I take leave to point out, moreover, that there is no surer way to promote Infidelity than to bring upon us this plausible counterfeit of Romanism proper. *It is Satan's own device, I verily believe, to divert attention in this way from the dangers which are most fatally 'threatening our Zion.'*"*

These are stubborn truths, and sternly put! They are, moreover, facts which every man of reading and observation will be able to confirm. So that if—adopting the phraseology of the *Times*—we "take stock" of the results of two generations of Ritualistic teaching, we find that (*a*) our schools are schools of free thought—(*b*) our churches are Mass-houses; (*c*) our literature is steeped in scepticism even when it shrinks from an open rejection of revelation; (*d*) license revels in our institutions; (*e*) vice riots in our streets; (*f*) an ever-increasing laxity of morals pervades all grades of society; (*g*) venality, which does but correspond to the absence of principle among public men, is rampant throughout the constituencies; (*h*) while anarchy—threatening to turn to rebellion—meets us on all sides and in every form! † Such, when we sum them up, are the fruits—call them rather the *first*-fruits, for there are worse to come—of the much-vaunted "Catholic Movement," which its abettors declared and its dupes believed was destined to

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* "Letter of remonstrance to Canon Gregory." 1881.

† Many Evangelicals are now calling out "Peace, peace!" when from the nature of the opposing forces, peace—at least without dishonour to our Master—is *impossible*. Under this category falls Dean Plumptre's well-meant "Eirenicon," which proposes a sort of concordat between the High and Low-Church parties on the basis of mutual concession in matters of Ritual—just as if both stood on the same ground! The hollowness of such an arrangement was exposed years ago in a letter which Bishop Thirlwall addressed to none other than Dr. Plumptre—the author of the "Eirenicon"!—

"I cannot," the Bishop observes, "yet forgive Gladstone for overlooking or ignoring the radical and all-important distinction between the High and Low party with regard to the observance of the Rubrics. It is, I think, notorious that the Low-Church party drifted into a departure from the Rubrics from manifold causes, without the slightest consciousness of any doctrinal bearing in their practice. The Tractarian Ritualistic party on the other hand have introduced innovations, avowedly for the sake of their doctrinal significance, and with a most distinct and deliberate design which is no other than that of transforming the character of our Church until it becomes ripe for union with Rome. Those who do not at present contemplate this step would do something still worse. *They would inflict upon us all the evils of a thorough adhesion to all Roman doctrine*—except perhaps the Papal Infallibility—without any of the social advantages [!!] which might result from the union."—*Letter to E. H. Plumptre (now Dean of Wells)*, July 20, 1874, p. 381.

That the High-Church party have made up their minds to abate none of their

purify the Church and revivify the State! Such is the price we have to pay for converting the *Protestant "minister"* into the MASSING PRIEST! May God in His mercy forgive and send us help from His holy place!

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preposterous claims is shown by the following extract from an important work which has recently appeared (Hore's "Eighteen Centuries of the Church of England"). Here we are plainly told "*The Church will be contented with nothing short of its inalienable right, viz., to be allowed to do by her Bishops and Clergy all such things as . . . shall concern the settled continuance of her doctrine and discipline.*" (p. 642.)

The incredible lengths to which ecclesiastical presumption is prepared to go, finds another curious illustration in a recent speech of Canon Wilkinson, who warmly defended the very inconvenient time (Tuesday before Ascension Day) fixed by the Bishops for the "Day of Intercession for Missions." "We had," he said, "no alternative in the matter. More than 100 Bishops at the Lambeth Conference had appointed the day of intercession, and *what had been appointed by so solemn a conference could not be altered except by a like authority!*"—(*Church Times*, May 4, 1882). Rome itself could scarcely have put forward a more audacious claim!

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Church Association Tracts.

No. LXXVIII.

SHALL WE GO BACK TO THE PRAYER BOOK OF 1549?

The Hon. C. L. Wood, President of the English Church Union, made a startling proposal in the paper which he read at the Derby Congress upon the subject of "Liturgical Improvement." He said, "The proposal I have to make aims not so much at any change in "our existing Prayer Book as for *the alternative use along with it* "*of the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI*," a proposal which means that a clergyman may, if he will, put aside altogether the Prayer Book, as it is, and use that of 1549.

In making the suggestion Mr. Wood remarks:—"The proposal I "have to make aims not so much at any change in our existing "Prayer Book as for the alternative use along with it of the First "Prayer Book of Edward VI. Let me endeavour to show, by a "comparison of our existing Prayer Book with the First Book of "Edward VI, (1) Why such an alternative use, on liturgical and "religious grounds, is in itself desirable; (2) Why the attempt to "carry it out would be free from many of the difficulties necessarily "attaching to any scheme for an alteration of our present Prayer "Book itself." He endeavoured to show that the permission to use the Book in question is desirable; but the reasons which he urges for its permissive use are the very reasons for which it was superseded by the Prayer Book of 1552, and the very reasons for which we contend that we ought never to go back to its use.

Before we proceed, it is well to say, by way of preface, that at the close of 1547 a committee, consisting of the Archbishops and several Bishops, was appointed to reform the offices of the Church. They set out by adding an office for Communion in both kinds to the Mass. The committee proceeded further to provide a Reformed Prayer Book, which came into use in June, 1549. Mr. Wood speaks

highly of the unreformed service, saying:—"Those who are at all "acquainted with the unreformed Service books of the English "Church must often have wondered how it came to pass that, from "a revision of originals *so rich and varied* as the Sarum Breviary "and the great English rite of St. Osmund, there should have "resulted anything so meagre in comparison with them as our "existing daily offices and liturgy."

The services to which he refers were varied indeed, consisting of unmeaning repetitions, but apart from some primitive forms of prayer and thanksgiving, it contained a multitude of observances and devotions of the most superstitious character. The following is a specimen, translated from the Canon of the Mass:—

"*Here again let him look upon the Host, saying:* Which oblation "do thou, O Almighty God, we beseech thee, vouchsafe in all "respects to make hal+lowed, ap+proved, rati+fied, reasonable, "and acceptable, that it may become unto us the + body and + blood "of thy most dear Son our Lord Jesus Christ.

"*Here let the priest raise, and join his hands, and wipe his fingers,* "*and elevate the Host, saying:*—

"Who, the day before he suffered, took bread in his venerable "and holy hands, and lifting his eyes to heaven (*here let him raise* "*his eyes*), to thee God his omnipotent Father (*here let him bow, and* "*raise himself a little, saying*) giving thanks to thee, he bles+sed, he "brake (*here let him touch the Host, saying*) and gave it to his "disciples, saying, Take and eat ye all of this, for this is my body.

"*These words ought to be spoken with one breath, and under one* "*utterance, without any pause. After these words, let the priest bow to* "*the Host, and then raise it above his forehead, that it may be seen by* "*the people; and reverently let him replace it before the chalice in the* "*manner of a cross made by the same. And then let him uncover the* "*chalice and hold it between his hands, not disuniting his thumb from* "*his forefingers, save only while he blesses, saying thus:*—

"In like manner after supper, taking this excellent chalice in his "holy and venerable hands; also to thee (*let him bow, saying*) "giving thanks, he + blessed it, and gave it to his disciples, saying: "Receive and drink ye all of it (*here let the priest elevate it a little,* "*saying*) for this is the chalice of my blood of the new and eternal "Testament, the mystery of faith, which shall be shed for you and "for many for the remission of sins. (*Here let him elevate the* "*chalice as high as the breast, or above his head, saying*) As often as "ye shall do these things, ye shall do them in remembrance of me.

" (*Here let him replace the chalice, and raise his arms in the form of*
" *a cross, the fingers being joined until the the words* of thy gifts.)

" Wherefore, we thy servants, O Lord, as also thy holy people,
" keeping in mind as well the blessed passion of the same Christ thy
" Son, our Lord, as also his resurrection from the dead, and glorious
" ascension into heaven, offer unto thy excellent Majesty of thy
" gifts and endowments, a pu+re Host, a ho+ly Host, an imma+
" culate Host: the ho+ly bread of eternal life, and the cha+ ce of
" everlasting salvation. Upon which vouchsafe to look with a pro-
" pitious and serene countenance, and to accept them, even as thou
" didst vouchsafe to accept the gifts of thy righteous servant Abel,
" and the sacrifice of our Patriarch Abraham, and that which thy
" High Priest Melchisedek offered to thee, a holy sacrifice, an imma-
" culate host."

The Reformers in 1549, swept away a vast amount of superstitious usages, and unscriptural devotions, some of the committee protesting, but the First Book still retained many most serious blemishes, which in their turn were obliterated in 1552.

Let us now take a brief view of the leading features of the Book which Mr. Wood proposes to restore.

The Vestments.

The Book of 1549 requires the use of vestments which were subsequently rejected by our Reformers. The following are the Rubrics bearing on the point:—

" Upon the day, and at the time appointed for the ministration
" of the holy Communion, the Priest that shall execute the holy
" ministry, shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that minis-
" tration, that is to say: a white Albe plain, with a vestment or
" Cope. And where there be many Priests or Deacons, there so
" many shall be ready to help the Priest, in the ministration, as
" shall be requisite: And shall have upon them likewise the vestures
" appointed for their ministry, that is to say, Albes with tunicles.
" Then shall the Clerks sing in English for the office, or Introit (as
" they call it), a Psalm appointed for that day."

" In the saying or singing of Matins and Evensong, Baptizing and
" Burying, the minister, in parish churches and chapels annexed to
" the same, shall use a Surplice. And in all Cathedral Churches
" and Colleges the Archdeacons, Deans, Provosts, Masters, Preben-
" daries and Fellows, being graduates, may use in the quire, besides
" their Surplices, such hood as pertaineth to their several degrees,

" which they have taken in any university within this realm. But " in all other places, every minister shall be at liberty to use any " surplice or no. It is also seemly that graduates, when they do " preach, shall use such hoods as pertaineth to their several " degrees."

All the above vestments are illegal, except the surplice and hood, and cope, the use of which is restricted. The rubric allowed an alternative use of vestment or Cope. The vestment was the Chasuble, a sacrificial robe; the Cope was *non*-sacrificial. The permission to wear the Cope at the Altar was an innovation upon Roman usage. The Cope, according to the Canons, is now legal in Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches.

Altar. The Eastward Position.

The rubric before the first prayer in the Lord's Supper in the book of 1549 is as follows:—

" The Priest standing humbly *afore the midst of the* ALTAR " shall say the Lord's Prayer with this Collect:—

('Almighty God unto whom all hearts be open')."

The following rubrics stand before the Prayer of Consecration:—

" Then the Priest turning him to the ALTAR shall say or sing " plainly and distinctly the prayer following."

The word ALTAR was struck out of the Prayer Book in 1552, and never restored.

Auricular Confession.

The Priest is directed when he observes that the people are negligent in communicating, to read the exhortation which, as it then stood, contained the following points which we place in parallel columns with the exhortation as it now stands.

First Book.	*Book as it is.*
He who is troubled is exhorted to come to the Priest.	He who " *cannot quiet* his own conscience " by self-examination is exhorted to come to the minister.
He is exhorted to confess and open his sin and grief *secretly*.	He is exhorted simply to open his grief, and the word *secretly* is left out.
He is exhorted that *of us*, as of the ministers of God, and of the Church, he may receive comfort and absolution.	He is exhorted that " by the ministry of God's holy Word, he may receive comfort and the benefit of absolution." The absolution is not of *us* but of *the Word*.
Those who are contented with the general confession to the Church are exhorted not to be offended with those who practise "*auricular* and *secret* confession to a priest."	The lesson of forbearance is wholly left out, with all mention of secret and auricular confession.

The absolution which was provided in 1549 for such cases was omitted in 1552.

Auricular confession was allowed in the book of 1549, though not enjoined as before.

The Church in the Homily of Repentance denounces auricular confession as follows:—

"And, whereas, the adversaries go about to wrest this place, for to "maintain their auricular confession withal, *they are greatly deceived* "*themselves and do shamefully deceive others;* for if this text ought "to be understood of auricular confession, then the priests are as "much bound to confess themselves to the lay-people as the lay-"people are bound to confess themselves to them. And if to pray "is to absolve, then the laity by this place hath as great authority to "absolve the priests as the priests have to absolve the laity. * * *

"And where that they do allege this saying of our Saviour Jesus "Christ unto the leper, to prove auricular confession, to stand on "God's Word, 'Go thy way and show thyself unto the priest,' do "they not see that the leper was cleansed from his leprosy, afore "he was by Christ sent unto the priest, for to show himself unto "him? By the same reason we must be cleansed from our spiritual "leprosy,—I mean our sins must be forgiven us, afore that we come "to confession. What need we then to tell forth our sins into the "ear of the priest sith that they be already taken away? There-"fore, Holy Ambrose, in his second sermon, upon the Hundred and "Nineteenth Psalm, doth say full well, 'Go, show thyself unto the "priest.' Who is the true priest, but he which is the priest for "ever, after the order of Melchisedeck? Whereby, this holy father "doth understand, that both the priesthood and the law being "changed, we ought to acknowledge *none other priest for deliverance* "*from our sins, but our Saviour Jesus Christ, who being our sovereign* "*bishop, doth, with the sacrifice of his body and blood, offered once for* "*ever upon the altar of the cross, most effectually cleanse the spiritual* "*leprosy, and wash away the sins of all those that, with true confession* "*of the same, do flee unto him.* * * I do not say but that, if any do "find themselves troubled in conscience, they may repair to their "learned curate or pastor, or to some other godly learned man, and "show the trouble and doubt of their conscience to them, that they "may receive at their hand the comfortable salve of God's Word; "*but it is against the true Christian liberty*, that any man should be "bound *to the numbering of his sins*, as it hath been used heretofore "in the time of *blindness and ignorance*."

The Mixed Cup.

The mixture of water with the wine was thus enjoined in another rubric. The fourth rubric after the offertory contains the following words:—

"And putting the wine into the chalice, or else in some fair or "convenient cup, prepared for that use (if the chalice will not "serve) putting thereto a little pure and clean water," &c.—*Fourth Rubric after the offertory.*

The mixed cup was rejected in 1552, and never restored.

Wafer Bread.

Was also required as follows, in a rubric at the end of the service as follows:—

"For avoiding all matters and occasion of dissension, it is meet "that the bread prepared for the communion be made, through all "this realm, after one sort and fashion; that is to say, *unleavened* "*and round*, as it was afore, but *without all manner of print*, and "something more larger and thicker than it was, so that it may be "aptly divided in divers pieces: and every one shall be divided "in two pieces, at the least or more, by the discretion of the "minister and so distributed. And men must not think less to be "received in part than in the whole, but in each of them *the whole* "*body* of our Saviour Jesu Christ."—*Fourth Rubric, Post-Com.*

The rubric, as it now stands, is as follows:—

"And to take away all occasion of dissension and superstition, "which any person hath or might have in the bread and wine, it "shall suffice that the bread be such *as is usual* to be eaten, but the "best and purest wheat bread that conveniently may be gotten."—*Fourth Rubric.*

The Oblation of the Elements and Prayer for the Dead.

We give the Prayer of Consecration as it occurs in the book of 1549. We add nos. 1, 2, 3, to mark the portions afterwards broken into separate prayers:—

(1) "Almighty and everliving God, which by thy holy apostle "hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give "thanks for all men: We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to "receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy divine Majesty,

"beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal Church with "the spirit of truth, unity, and concord: And grant that all they "that do confess thy holy name, may agree in the truth of thy "holy Word, and live in unity and godly love. Specially we beseech "thee to save and defend thy servant Edward our King, that under "him we may be Godly and quietly governed. And grant unto "his whole council, and to all that be put in authority under him, "that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the "punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of "God's true religion and virtue. Give grace (O heavenly Father) "to all Bishops, Pastors, and Curates, that they may both by their "life and doctrine set forth thy true and lively Word, and rightly "and duly administer thy holy Sacraments: and to all thy people "give thy heavenly grace, that with meek heart and due reverence "they may hear and receive thy holy Word, truly serving thee in "holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. And we "most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness (O Lord) to comfort "and succour all them, which in this transitory life be in trouble, "sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity. And especially "we commend unto thy merciful goodness this congregation which "is here assembled in thy name, to celebrate the commemoration "of the most glorious death of thy Son: And we here do give "unto thee most high praise, and hearty thanks, for the wonderful "grace and virtue, declared in all thy saints, from the beginning "of the world: And chiefly in the glorious and most blessed "virgin Mary, mother of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord and God, "and in the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, "whose examples (O Lord) and stedfastness in thy faith, and "keeping thy holy commandments, grant us to follow. *We* "*commend unto thy mercy (O Lord) all other thy servants, which are* "*departed hence from us, with the sign of faith, and now do rest in* "*the sleep of peace: Grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy and* "*everlasting peace*, and that, at the day of the general resurrection, "we and all they which be of the mystical body of thy Son, may "altogether be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful "voice: Come unto me, O ye that be blessed of my Father, and "possess the kingdom, which is prepared for you from the "beginning of the world: Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's "sake, our only Mediator and Advocate.

(2) "O God heavenly Father, which of thy tender mercy didst "give thine only Son Jesus Christ, to suffer death upon the cross for "our redemption, who made there (by his one oblation, once offered)

"a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for "the sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in his holy "Gospel command us to celebrate, a perpetual memory of that his "precious death, until his coming again: Hear us (O merciful "Father) we beseech thee: *and with thy Holy Spirit and word "vouchsafe to bl+ess and sanc+tify these thy gifts, and creatures of "bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy "most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ.* Who in the same night that

Here the Priest must take the bread into his hands.

"he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had blessed, "and given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his dis- "ciples, saying: Take eat, this is my body which is "given for you: do this in remembrance of me.

"Likewise after supper he took the cup, and when he had given

Here the Priest shall take the cup into his hands.

"thanks he gave it to them, saying: Drink ye all of "this, for this is my blood of the new Testament, which "is shed for you and for many, for remission of sins: "Do this, as oft as you shall drink it, in remembrance "of me.

"[These words before rehearsed are to be said, turning still to "the Altar, without any elevation, or showing the Sacrament to the "people.]

(3) "Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the "Institution of thy dearly beloved Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, "*we thy humble servants do celebrate, and make here before thy divine "Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath "willed us to make:* having in remembrance his blessed passion, "mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension, rendering unto thee "most hearty thanks, for the innumerable benefits procured unto us "by the same, entirely desiring thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to "accept this our Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving: most humbly "beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son "Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we and all the whole "Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of "his passion. And here we offer and present unto thee (O Lord) "ourself, our souls, and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively "sacrifice unto thee: humbly beseeching thee, that whosoever shall "be partakers of this Holy Communion, may worthily receive the "most precious body and blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, and be "fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one "body with thy Son Jesus Christ, that he may dwell in them, and "they in him. And although we be unworthy (through our mani- "fold sins) to offer unto thee any Sacrifice: Yet we beseech thee to

"accept this our bounden duty and service, *and command these our "prayers and supplications, by the ministry of thy holy Angels, to be "brought up in thy holy Tabernacle before the sight of thy divine "Majesty;* not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences "through Christ our Lord; by whom, and with whom, in the unity "of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father "Almighty, world without end. Amen."

In the book of 1552 and in the Prayer Book as it is, this prayer not only appears without its objectionable features but is divided into three parts, (1) the prayer for the whole estate of Christ's Church militant here on earth, (2) the Prayer of Consecration, and (3) the prayer of the oblation of our selves, which is said after the Lord's Prayer succeeding communion. If the reader will compare the Prayer of Consecration as it stood in the book of 1549, with the three prayers into which it has been broken, as they now stand in our Prayer Book, and which are completely detached from one another, he will at once see the greatness of the changes which was effected in 1552.

The prayer for the dead in prayer No. 1, indicated by the italics, has been obliterated.

The invocation of the Holy Ghost on the elements in prayer No. 2, indicated by the italics, has been obliterated.

The oblation or presentation of the consecrated elements in prayer No. 3, indicated by the italics, has been obliterated.

Moreover, the prayer of oblation of ourselves (here we offer and present unto thee) was placed *after Communion*, in which position it cannot refer to the consecrated elements now consumed.

Mr. Wood finds fault with the present order and says :—

"Again: after the consecration, why is the prayer beginning 'O "Lord and Heavenly Father,' instead of immediately concluding "the Canon as it ought to do, postponed till after the communion "of the priest and people, and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer, "with its petition for the gift of our daily bread and of deliverance "from evil, deferred till *after* the distribution of the Living Bread "and the consequent sealing of our souls and bodies unto eternal "life?"

Some passages in the book of 1549, relating to the sacramental presence, were expunged. This will appear from the following example :—

First Book.	*Book as it is.*
"Grant us, therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son	"Grant us, therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son

Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood *in these* holy mysteries," &c.—*Prayer of humble access.*

"Almighty and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou hast vouchsafed to feed us *in these* holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ."—*Prayer after Com.*

Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that," &c.—*Prayer of humble access.*

"Almighty and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, which have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord."—*Second thanksgiving.*

The following statement in the fourth rubric was especially objectionable, and was therefore omitted :—"And men must not "think less to be received in part than in the whole (*i.e.*, in the "wafer divided), but in each of them the whole body of Christ."

Further, the prayer : "Hear us, O Merciful Father, we beseech "thee ; and with thy Holy Spirit and word, vouchsafe to bl+ess "and sanc+tify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, "that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly "beloved Son Jesus Christ," gave place to the words as now existing in our present office, "And grant that we receiving "these thy creatures of bread and wine, may be partakers of his "most precious body and blood."

In 1559, on the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, an effort was made to restore this prayer as it was in 1549, but Guest, one of the Commissioners of Review, stated the objection to the formula of the first book as follows :—"The second cause for which the "aforesaid prayer is to be refused is, for that it prays that the "bread and wine may be Christ's body and blood ; which *makes* "*for* the Popish transubstantiation, which is a doctrine that hath "caused much idolatry."—*Cardwell's Conferences*, p. 53, Oxford, 1841.

Further, the words, "*commonly called the Mass*," were struck out from the title of the Lord's Supper. The retention of this would have given ground for applying the objectionable designation, *the Mass*, to the Lord's Supper.

Chrisom and Crossings.

The rubrics of the Baptismal Service in the book of 1549 direct the minister to put the *chrisom*, or white vesture, on the infant after baptism, and to anoint him with oil.

Anointing with Oil.

Unction with oil is enjoined not only in the Baptismal Service but is allowed in the Visitation of the Sick, as follows :—

"If the sick person desire to be anointed, then shall the priest "anoint him upon the forehead or breast only, making the sign "of the cross, saying thus—

"As with this visible oil thy body outwardly is anointed : so our "heavenly Father, Almighty God, grant of His infinite goodness, "that thy soul inwardly may be anointed with the Holy Ghost, who "is the Spirit of all strength, comfort, relief, and gladness : and "vouchsafe for His great mercy (if it be His blessed will) to restore "unto thee thy bodily health and strength, to serve Him ; and send "thee release of all thy pains, troubles, and diseases, both in mind "and body." * * *

Prayer for the Dead.

We have referred to prayers for the dead as offered in the Communion Service in the book of 1549.

There are several prayers for the dead in the service for the Burial of the Dead in the same book. The words of committal are as follows :—

"Then the priest, casting earth upon the corpse shall say,

"*I commend thy soul to God the Father Almighty*, and thy body to "the ground, earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, in sure "and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life, through our Lord "Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, that it may be like "to His glorious body, according to the mighty working whereby "He is able to subdue all things to Himself."

The Homily on Repentance in reference to prayer for the dead having referred to Holy Scripture, continues :—

"Let these and such other places be sufficient to take away the "gross error of purgatory out of our heads ; *neither let us dream "any more that the souls of the dead are anything at all holpen by "our prayers ;* but, as the Scripture teacheth us, let us think that "*the soul of man, passing out of the body, goeth straightways either "to heaven, or else to hell, whereof the one needeth no prayer, and the "other is without redemption.*"

The Rev. Canon Hoare, in his able reply to Mr. Wood's proposal, concluded as follows :—

"Shall we cling to the dear old office book, in which we have "hundreds and thousands of times poured out our whole heart before "God? . . . . shall we begin by half-and-half retrograde measures, "until we go right back into the arms of Rome? My lord, I need "say no more, but I thank Mr. Wood for having spoken out, and "having let us know this day what are the real intentions of the "English Church Union." R. P. B.

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5th Thousand.]

SHOULD THE CHURCH ASSOCIATION BE DISSOLVED OR STRENGTHENED BY THOSE WHO VALUE THE ENGLISH REFORMATION AND THE GOSPEL TRUTHS IDENTIFIED WITH IT?

SOME of the Speeches delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, on October 6, 1882, at the Diocesan Conference under the Presidency of the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

MR. J. HENRY WILSON (Reading) moved:—

"That it appears to this Conference desirable, in the interest of the Church, to promote the dissolution of the two Societies known as the Church Association and the English Church Union."

The REV. A. M. W. CHRISTOPHER, Rector of St. Aldate's, Oxford, moved the following amendment:—

"That it is the duty of all who value the Reformation to oppose, "at any sacrifice of feeling, the attempts now being made to "assimilate the services of our Church to those of the Church of "Rome; and that the Church Association, being the only organiza- "tion that exists for the express purpose of resisting systematic "efforts to undo the Reformation Settlement, cannot yet be "dispensed with."

Although he felt it to be his duty to move this amendment, he did not doubt that Mr. Henry Wilson was a true friend of the Reformation. He had that day voted for him to be one of the three lay delegates from that Conference to the Central Conference. Although he could not vote for his motion he had voted for him, and he hoped others would do the same. He must thank Mr. Wilson for his courtesy in placing the younger Association first in his motion. The Church Association is six years younger than the English Church Union, and owes its birth entirely to the English Church Union. When the English Church Union had been formed, practically to undo the Reformation, it became necessary for men in earnest for the Reformation, and the Gospel truths identified with it, to unite to oppose the English Church Union party, and so the Church Association was formed. It would be well before speaking of this Association to read its full title, which is this,—"The Church Association, instituted in 1865, to uphold the doctrines, principles, and order of the United Church of England and Ireland, and to counteract the efforts now being made to pervert her teaching on essential points of the Christian faith, or assimilate her services to those of the Church of Rome, and further to encourage concerted action for the advancement and progress of Spiritual Religion." Now the necessity for the continued existence of the Church Association depended upon the answer to the question, "Is it true, as this title asserts, that efforts are now being made to pervert the teaching of the Church of England on essential points of the Christian faith, or assimilate her services to those of the Church of Rome?" To prove that this was true he was

able to bring forward witnesses of the highest authority and character in the Church.

All would respect the late Archbishop Longley of Canterbury, a High Churchman. He wrote in his last charge as follows :—"It is no want of charity, therefore, to declare that they (the Ritualists) remain with us in order that they may substitute the Mass for the Communion ; the obvious aim of the Reformers having been to substitute the Communion for the Mass" (p. 21).

And the present Primate, Archbishop Tait, addressing the Upper House of Convocation, spoke thus of the Ritualists : "No admiration of any points in their character ought, I think, to make us hesitate, whatever may be the difficulties, to do whatever may appear to be our duty in the endeavours to counteract what I believe to be, and am obliged to call, a conspiracy in our body against the doctrine, the discipline, and the practice of our Reformed Church."—*The Times*, July 7, 1877.

The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, replying to a memorial signed by 60,000 lay members of the Church of England, calling attention to the Romish character of the Ritualistic movement, wrote on the 16th June, 1873 :—"There can be no doubt that the danger you apprehend of a considerable minority, both of clergy and laity amongst us, desiring to subvert the principles of the Reformation is real.

"We feel justified in appealing to all reasonable men, to consider whether the very existence of our national institutions for the maintenance of religion is not imperilled by the evils of which you complain."

The Episcopal Address which appeared in *The Times* of the 8th March, 1875, was signed by the Archbishops and most of the Bishops.

The late Bishop of Durham (Dr. Baring), one of Oxford's double-first-class men, one of the prelates who withheld their signatures, at once entered his protest against the representations of the address on matters of fact, adding, "But my chief objection to the manifesto is that it is so indefinite in its statements—so feeble in its conclusions." Having cited instances of the "generalities" "so indefinite" and "so feeble," the Bishop proceeds :—"But this address of almost all the members of the Episcopate of the *Reformed* Church of England dares not venture to utter a single word with reference to the two most serious errors which are the cause of the 'embittered controversy' of which it speaks" (viz., the Ritualistic doctrine of "the Real Presence," *i.e.*, in the elements), "and the introduction of Auricular Confession by a large number of the clergy." "Does such an address," Bishop Baring said, "sufficiently meet the real perils which at present surround the Church ? Is it in any measure adequate to the occasion ? What good can it do ? Will it bring to their senses those who boastfully parade their defiance of the authority of their Bishops, and of the judgments of the Law Courts ? Will it allay the fears of many true-hearted Churchmen who watch with alarm the insidious and rapid inroads of mediæval doctrines and ceremonies ? Will it mitigate the distress of those who are driven from their parish church by the unscriptural teaching and mummeries of some Romanizing priest, to be assured that many churches are being built, and that 'there are clear lines which separate the doctrines and practices of our Reformed Church from the novelties and corruptions of the Church of Rome ?'" "Had the allocution been, in my judgment," adds the Bishop, "only useless, I should certainly not have separated myself from the episcopal brethren, which I now do with much sorrow. But the document appears to me mischievous, because it minimizes or ignores the greatest danger, at a time when the clergy and laity need to be most distinctly warned that the foe is already within the camp."

The Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Harold Browne), in his justification of the Public Worship Bill (which was the result of the appeals made by the Association to the Bishops and to public opinion), wrote as follows :—"It is said, no doubt, that if a judgment of this kind were given by a Synod of Bishops, and not by worldly lawyers, it would demand respect. May I remind you that clergymen of very high character some few years since were wont to say : 'The law is on our side, and therefore, with all respect for our Bishops, we cannot listen to them' ? May I remind you again that on one occasion an unusually large body of Bishops sitting in Convocation, including Archbishop Longley, Bishop Wilberforce, and others, expressed themselves deliberately and unanimously on certain questions

of ritual; and that not only did their words receive no attention or respect, but that the Church papers treated their utterances with unmitigated scorn? Again, when it has been urged that the Preface to the Prayer Book enjoins, when any doubts arise, that 'the parties that so doubt, or diversely take any thing, shall always resort to the Bishop of the Diocese,' the answer has always been, 'We do not doubt; and therefore we do not resort.' Now I am by constitution and by principle most desirous to give fair play and full latitude to all schools in the Church; but I ask whether it can be right, first to reject all voice of the Bishops, to appeal to law as superseding the authority of the Bishops, and then, when lawyers, not Bishops, expound the law in an adverse sense, to turn round and say, 'We would have obeyed the law if it had been expounded by the Bishops, who are our legitimate rulers and judges?'"

The Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Wordsworth), another High Church Prelate, thus disposes of the fallacy that the Ritualists are a persecuted body, martyrs deserving support and sympathy :—"It may indeed be alleged by some well-meaning persons that such clergymen are suffering persecution, and have claims to sympathy and support. But the fact is, such clergymen are not martyrs but persecutors. They are persecuting the Church of which they are ministers by disturbing its peace, and by stirring up strife, and by spreading confusion and anarchy, and by marring its efficacy, and imperilling its safety. As was observed long ago by St. Augustine, such persons are like Agar and Ishmael, who complained of persecution, but who persecuted Sarah and Isaac (Galatians iv. 29)."

The Dean of Chichester (Dr. Burgon), so much respected in Oxford, writes :—"The more thoughtful and earnest and faithful among the laity of the Church of England are growing impatient of the continual acts of aggression, which they are constrained to witness without having the slightest power to resist or check their progress, or to escape from the calamitous consequences which they inevitably and immediately entail on themselves and their families."

Nor is this the whole of the evidence that Ritualism is doing the work of the Church of Rome within the Church of England. Cardinal Manning, so far back as 1866, declared "the clergy of the Established Church have taken out of the hands of the Catholic (*i.e.*, Roman) clergy the labour of contending for the doctrine of Transubstantiation and Invocation of Saints. The Catholics have been left the much more happy task of reaping the field." In the "Essays on the Reunion of Christendom," edited by the Rev. Dr. F. G. Lee, with a preface by the late Rev. Dr. Pusey, we find an agreement with the view taken by the Romish Cardinal thus expressed (p. 180) :—"Admitting that we are but a lay body with no pretensions to the name of a Church, we yet, in our belief (however mistaken) that we are one, are doing for England what they (*i.e.*, the Papists) cannot do. We are teaching men to believe that God is to be worshipped under the form of Bread, and they are learning the lesson from us which they have refused to learn from the Roman teachers that have been among us for the last three hundred years. We are teaching men to endure willingly the pain of confession, which is an intense trial to the reserved Anglo-Saxon nature, and to believe that a man's 'I absolve thee' is the voice of God. How many English Protestants have Roman Priests brought to Confession, compared with the Anglican clergy? Could they have overcome the English dislike to 'mummery' as we are overcoming it? On any hypothesis we are doing their work."

Mr. Christopher earnestly asked them to bear in mind that the Church Association has, at considerable outlay, obtained the condemnation by the Ecclesiastical Courts of sixty ceremonies and practices symbolical of Popish doctrines, and illegally introduced by the Ritualists into the services of the Reformed Church. Surely it had done a great and good work for the Church of England. He entreated all Protestant Churchmen, instead of voting for the dissolution of the Church Association, whilst the evils continued of which the Archbishops and Bishops he had quoted complained, to strengthen to the utmost of their power the only Association which exists for the express purpose of resisting systematic efforts to undo the Reformation Settlement in our Church. It was not, he said, a question of High Church or Low Church, but of the Reformation or Romanism.

The Rev. W. FFOLLIOTT (Vicar of Little Missenden), seconded the amendment, and said he would give a very great deal if peace could be brought back again to the Church of England. He knew of only one way in which the

Church Association could withdraw from the contest in which it was engaged, and that was for the English Church Union to lay down its very objectionable tenets, and then the Church Association would have nothing more to do, and could retire. The opinions put forward by the English Church Union through its President not long ago were such as were not, in his humble opinion, in accordance with the teaching of the Church of England.

The tenets of the English Church Union were in opposition to the Church of England. The way to have peace was to put that down which was contrary to it. The President of the English Church Union said :—"Let us boldly say for ourselves that it is not toleration we are asking for. We do not ask for the Catholic religion and practice to be tolerated merely as some permitted form of religious opinion within the limits of the Church of England. We claim that the only true and adequate expression of that teaching includes the real presence of the Eucharist and the doctrine of absolution," in other words, meaning auricular confession. He defied any man to prove these two things, that the Eucharistic sacrifice and the doctrine of absolution belonged to the Church of England.

So long as the English Church Union, through its President, put forward these as its opinions, so long would it be impossible for honest Churchmen to advise the Church Association to withdraw from the field—no ! never, never, never.

Captain COBHAM (Reading) said he stood there as a delegate-member of the Church Association, and he regretted it for the same reason that, he felt sure, every member of the Council regretted their membership, viz., that there should be the necessity for such a Society at all; but they must recollect that the Church Association was not the first that came into the field. The English Church Union had been working for five years before it was formed, and it had led to such incalculable mischief in the Church, that it was absolutely necessary to counteract the work which the Union was doing, and that was the reason for its formation. Mr. Wilson's resolution did not go far enough, he should have associated with the two societies he wishes to suppress such societies as the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, the Holy Cross Society, the Society for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom, and the last bantling of the Ritualistic party—the new Catholic League, which were all working on sacerdotal lines; and as long as they existed, so long was the Church Association bound to go on its way also. Mr. Wilson stated that the Society assumed to be protecting the Church from harm against which she was quite able to protect herself. Was this so? When the Bishops were appealed to to put down Ritualism, they said it was too costly a matter for them to undertake ; and they were quite right in saying so, for up to this time no less a sum than £50,000 had been spent in ascertaining the law. But was the position of the two societies now the same? The battle had been mainly fought over sixty different points of law, the result was that the Church Union had been found to be entirely wrong and the Church Association to be quite in the right. [No, no.] He was not stating his own opinion but the decisions of the judges of the land. He should be only too glad when the time came that the Church Association could dissolve ; but as long as sacerdotalism went on in the Church they would nail their colours to the mast, and would fight the battle out to the last.

The Rev. J. ARKELL, M.A. (Rector of St. Ebbe's, Oxford), said he believed that there was an attempt to assimilate the services of the Church of England to those of the Church of Rome, and knowing that it was the main object of the Church Association to keep the Church of England as far as possible from that Church, he felt it to be his bounden duty to support it, but with, he was willing to confess, a very great expense of feeling. He did not suppose that the amendment would be carried. He knew too well the feelings of the great majority of those present, and that there would only be a small minority in favour of it. Still he hoped he should never be ashamed or afraid to stand up, however small the minority might be. He had a hope that on the part of some of the laymen present there might be a boldness to induce them to come forward and support the amendment. The laity had before now protected the Church from the encroachments of the Church of Rome, and the time might come when she would need them to do so again.

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79th Thousand.]

Church Association Tracts.

No. LXXX.

SPEECH

BY

JAMES MADEN HOLT, Esq.,

AT

WILLIS'S ROOMS, MAY 8, 1883.

The CHAIRMAN, in his opening address, said that probably some of them were aware that in consequence of the illness of Colonel Macdonald, chairman of the National Club, it had been found necessary to postpone the *conversazione* which was to have been held there that evening. He was glad, however, to be able to tell the meeting that Colonel Macdonald's health had improved. He had also been requested to call attention to the proceedings which had been taken lately with reference to the establishment of a middle-class school as a memorial to Dean Close. It was proposed to found in the West of England a Church of England Evangelical middle-class school similar to the one which had been successfully started in Ramsgate, and connect it with the name of Dean Close. He was sure he need scarcely commend so worthy an object to their notice and their subscriptions. It was his duty in opening the proceedings of that afternoon to take notice of the serious loss which the Church Association had sustained through retirement from active service of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Council. In each case ill-health had been the cause of that retirement. For many years Mr. Andrews and Mr. Lovell had rendered most valuable service to the Association, services which they could ill afford to lose at this juncture. The meeting might not know all that they had done, but he believed they knew enough to join him in expressing their sincere regret that they were no longer able to give the Council that active assistance which had been so helpful in former years, and to authorize him, in their behalf, to tender to those

gentlemen the grateful thanks of the Church Association for the services they had rendered in the past. He would also express a hope that they might from time to time, as health permitted, still give the Council the benefit of their wisdom and experience. Thank God, they were spared to the Association. They needed, indeed, men of wisdom and experience in their deliberations. Wisdom and prudence, caution, and patience, were no less necessary than firmness, and energy, and courage. They needed resolute patience, determined caution, and judicious energy for the conduct of their affairs. They had to thank God that their past efforts had been attended with success—substantial success; for if they considered the various difficulties with which they had had to contend, arising from the ingenuity of their opponents, from the very nature of the proceedings in which they were engaged, and sometimes, he was sorry to say, from the hostility of some Bishops to the very measure which they originally introduced and passed through Parliament, he thought, considering all that, they might say that their successes had been substantial—even marvellous. No doubt their action had been met by criticism and complaint; no doubt there had been serious delays, which had retarded their success, and which had sorely tried the patience of some of their friends, but success was none the less welcome when it came. Their critics failed, as it seemed to him, to prove the charges which they brought. In the majority of instances when examined they were found to be based on misrepresentation or misapprehension, and those who complained that they had done nothing because what was called Ritualism was still found in the Church of England, seemed to forget the sixty points referred to in the report, which had been decided. He contended that they had obtained a substantial success, and the work now before them was to make sure of the position they had won. Look at the facts of the case. He invited critics and complaining friends to remember that the Church Association was originally established to meet another organization which had been in existence for some years, whose principles were antagonistic to the Protestantism of the Church. It had been their duty to administer the funds subscribed by Protestant Churchmen for the purpose of maintaining the Protestant character of that Church of which they were members, and the result had been that again and again they had demonstrated that the Church of England had not lost the

Protestant character which was imprinted upon her at the time of the Reformation. In distributing that fund they had not considered themselves possessed of a commission to go through the land and reform every parish. The work of the Council had been to make a selection, amongst those cases which had been brought to their notice, of such as should be most satisfactory to accomplish the purpose for which the Association was established. Therefore, when it was said they were a litigious Association, and that they encouraged disturbances in parishes, he invited them to remember that, so far from that being the case, they had been obliged to exercise great self-restraint. Take, as an instance of the patience and self-restraint they had imposed upon themselves, the Mackonochie case. Mr. Martin, the promoter, as they knew, was for many years a member of the Council of the Church Association, and how had Mr. Martin acted in the case? He refused to imprison Mr. Mackonochie; and, in consequence of that, Mr. Mackonochie had been able to defy the law year after year,—and had taken advantage of this feeling on the part of Mr. Martin, to defy the law, and introduce Romish practices into the Church of England. They hoped at last that they might be stopped. He wanted them to see that their object had not been to punish individuals, but to restrain unlawful practices. If the resignation had been intended to indicate a submission to the law, he was sure that Mr. Martin would not have pressed the case against Mr. Mackonochie. They would have been, as a Council, much more satisfied with the abandonment of illegal practices, than the legal success which involved the personal humiliation of an offender. But the truth was that both parties were conscious that there was a great principle at stake, and that was the reason the contest was so obstinate on both sides. The Church was Protestant in theory. They had established that the standards of ritual and doctrine were in harmony with that theory, and the work which now remained to be done was to secure that Protestant character by making the Church Protestant in practice as well as in theory; in fact, as well as in law. He saw no other body but the Church Association that would undertake that. In doing that, they must be guided by the circumstances of the crisis which were developing, day by day, in a remarkable manner. Some of them were almost too grave for expression in language. It seemed to him a grave

thing that a Bishop of the Church of England, a man whose experience and years entitled him to respect, whose office placed him in one of the chief positions of ecclesiastical distinction in the land, who had again and again condemned Ritualistic extravagance and had been treated with scant courtesy by the sacerdotal party; that such a man should have been ready,—so far as they knew,—without hesitation, to accept the resignation of Mr. Mackonochie, and while a sentence of deprivation was hanging over him to institute him to a living in his own diocese, seemed to him a very grave circumstance. That this too should be done with the probability that he would escape the consequences of his ecclesiastical misdemeanours, and with the moral certainty that he would persist, in his new sphere of labour, in his defiance of the law, of which the Bishop is the minister; and that the Bishop should then justify his action by a plea which seemed utterly to ignore all the difference between truth and error—that was a very grave circumstance. It was also a grave circumstance that the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's should select for promotion a clergyman who had set at naught the law of the Church and of the land, and who held doctrinal opinions which can with difficulty be distinguished from those distinctly repudiated by the Church at the Reformation. He thought, further, the fact that the clergy and laity of the diocese of London, when they heard of it, did not remonstrate with the Bishop, was also a grave circumstance. He could not find language in which properly to discuss those topics. He desired to speak in all Christian moderation, and to show all Christian respect to the Bishop and Presbyters of this diocese; but he was filled with perplexity, amazement, indignation, dismay, and despair—when he saw the Church of Ridley and Latimer, of Hooper and Cranmer, in the very diocese in which Ridley was once the Bishop, so indifferent to the preservation of the truth for which those martyrs died. All honour to those men—clergymen and laymen—who had not hesitated to make themselves conspicuous by remonstrating with the Bishop. The grave thing is that they are so few. But these were grave circumstances which must be taken into account, which demanded the earnest and careful consideration of all Protestants within the kingdom. Disguise it as they would, the fact remained that the idolatrous sacrifice of the Mass, in name and intention, has been restored in the diocese of London, and that without opposition

from the Bishop of London. Discouraging as these things might be, there were some other circumstances of an opposite character. The report had referred to the fact that in three cases deprivation had taken place, and the suits had terminated successfully. He would not refer to these cases, but would allude to the resolute action taken by the Bishop of Manchester in defence of the principles of the Reformation. He could not pass that over, but, as he knew, the Bishop desired no party support, and he desired to respect his lordship's wishes, he would say nothing more. He desired to refer also to the action taken by the Archbishop of York at Sheffield, for which his Grace deserved the thanks of all loyal Churchmen. He had shown them what a Bishop could do, what every Bishop ought to do, and ought to have done. They did not wish to embarrass the Bishops even by an expression of their respectful sympathy; yet he desired to say that if the Bishops of the Church of England would make up their minds to support the Reformation and to enforce respect for the law, they might take this part of the work out of the hands of the Church Association altogether. It was not a pleasing work,—not a work of which they were very fond. It was a work which they would very gladly see in the hands of Protestant Bishops;—they could do it without making themselves party men. The principles which the Church Association advocated were not the principles of party, but the principles of the Church of England, principles imprinted on the Church at the Reformation, and principles which the recent decisions of the courts of law had taken out of the category of party principles. His firm conviction was that nothing would make the Church of England more popular, nothing would more effectually thwart the designs of her enemies, than the bold avowal on the part of the Bishops of their determination to uphold the principles of the Reformation, to maintain at all cost a Protestant ritual within their dioceses. He must refer to another encouraging circumstance which was found in the determined action of the churchwardens at Pendleton and Sheffield. He was not going to express sympathy with or defend any breach of the law in defence of the principles of the Church. The Council of the Association repudiate all recourse to violence and mob law. He hoped no churchwarden would take any action without the best advice, but under good advice he should be glad to see churchwardens throughout the country exercising the power the law gave them to restrain

illegal practices. If any clergyman, in the performance of an unlawful ceremonial, resisted the authority of a church officer lawfully exercised, he was the brawler, and ought to be held responsible for his misdeeds. Under these circumstances—grave and encouraging—what ought to be the policy they should adopt? How were they to accomplish the end they had in view? That was the maintenance of Protestantism in the Church of England, on the lines laid down by their founders, namely, as a Church Association,—in harmony with the fundamental principles of the constitution of the Church, of which they were members. It was the opinion of the Council that they must not for one moment think of abandoning the work they had been engaged in, and that they must not suffer the advantages they had gained to be rendered nugatory, but they must follow them up by measures calculated to secure obedience to the law. There were many difficulties which stood in their way. He put them under four heads. In the first place, they had to encounter a difficulty arising from the sympathy and encouragement shown to the Romanizing clergy by their rulers in Church and State. The Bishops selected for promotion clergymen avowedly hostile to the Protestant character of the Church. The Queen's Government did the same—Liberals or Conservatives, both parties were to blame; but even the Liberals must admit that Mr. Gladstone was not the least to blame. The Queen's Government appointed men as Bishops who sympathized with the sacerdotal party. These Bishops were not afraid of being called party men, and they patronized the party with which they sympathized, and so Protestantism was at a discount. In the next place, where they did not find a Bishop who sympathized, they found reluctance and hesitation in enforcing the law or a powerlessness to enforce the law: and in the third place they could not enforce the law without the co-operation of the Bishop. It was in the power of any Bishop to deprive the laity of privileges the law gave them, by sheltering the offender under his veto, or by neglecting to enforce the judgment of the court, and thus they found in the Established Church the law of the land was practically powerless, or at any rate inoperative, where the Bishop was unfriendly to the principles of the Reformation. There was another difficulty in their way, which arose from the apathy and indifference—he was afraid he might say selfishness—and divisions in the Evangelical body. The proposals which the Council laid before the Association had been

read to them in the report. He should not read them over again, but they must not understand that by these proposals the Association was committed to any system of wholesale prosecutions. The Council did not intend to assume the office of public prosecutors, but what by this resolution they did pledge themselves to do was to continue to assist aggrieved parishioners who could find no other remedy, and who came to them for their assistance; in cases the Council judged wisest, and best, *i.e.* best calculated to promote the work they had in hand. In the next place, they thought it their duty to take measures to uphold the laws of the Church throughout the land by an inquiry into the powers which the Bishops possessed and the mode of their exercise, and then by the consideration of what measures were necessary to enable those powers to be exercised without abuse. It would be their duty to assist all Church officers who desired any help in the discharge of duties which the law laid upon them, but as an Association they felt bound to avoid all other interference with those who determined to maintain the principles of the Reformation by the authority which the law gave them. They sympathized with them. They had their prayers and their hopes. As individual private Churchmen, they were prepared to give them all the moral assistance and material help they might desire from them, but as an Association they thought it their duty to stand aloof. Then, again, they were bound to seek to have their opinions more largely represented in Parliament, so as to promote measures calculated to facilitate the enforcement of the law, and to resist all changes which had a tendency to destroy the Protestant character of the Church; and further than that, it was their duty to persevere by means of lectures, &c., to instruct the public mind, to rouse a Protestant spirit, and to spread sound information throughout the country on questions affecting the doctrine and ritual of the Church. The programme contained a large amount of work which could never be accomplished except by God's blessing and a determined and loyal support. The Council came before them telling them what it had done and what it proposed to do. The question was what would they enable the Council to do? They must not consider the Council was infallible or omnipotent. They were found fault with sometimes because they went too fast, and sometimes because they went too slowly. They could not accomplish impossibilities, and

they could not please everybody; but this they could do—they could strive, God helping them, to discharge honestly the duties which devolved on them. They rejoiced to think the work was God's work, and the results were in His hands. Not by power or policy, but by patient testimony were His purposes to be accomplished. Therefore, they felt their weakness was a source of strength, for they were sure that neither numbers, nor wisdom, nor rank, nor strength, could avail in the struggle in which they were engaged. When the Lord spoke the words, faith and weakness won the day.

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4th Thousand.]

THE REACTIONARY AND RETROGRADE TENDENCY OF RITUALISM EVIDENCED BY THE PROPOSED RECURRENCE TO THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI.

By the Rev. Septimus Hobbs, *Rector of Compton Valence, Dorset.*

The proposal itself is presumptive evidence of a desire to return to the doctrines and ceremonies of the Romish Mass Book, for it overleaps a period of more than three hundred and thirty years, and selects a Prayer Book compiled when the Reformation of Religion in England was in its feeblest infancy. Henry the VIIIth was acknowledged "Head of the Church" in 1534, from which period to the printing of the first Prayer Book of Edward VI is only fifteen years. And it is evident that the Reformation of Henry VIII was more political than religious. Few, if any, persons acquainted with the history of those times regard the changes effected by him as a "Reformation of *Religion*." He was succeeded by his son Edward in 1547, when the Reformation of Religion in England really commenced, and Edward's first Prayer Book was printed within two years. A very short period indeed for a National Reformation to come to maturity. It might be expected that experience would make manifest that many things had been retained which ought to have been rejected. This proved to be the case, as Edward VI's second Prayer Book demonstrates. But this second Prayer Book does not suit the Ritualists at all. They leap over this as they do over the Prayer Book which was revised and restored by Queen Elizabeth in 1559, with which they are no more satisfied than they are with the Prayer Book now in use, and which they are endeavouring gradually to set aside, though all of them who are ordained Clergymen have given their (unfeigned) assent and consent thereto.

What is the reason why they, as ministers of the Church of

England, are dissatisfied with the Prayer Book which was restored in 1662, and has been in use ever since, and to which as it is they have given their assent, and passing over King James's book, Queen Elizabeth's and Edward VI's second book, wish to have liberty to use Edward's first book? An examination of the points of difference between the Prayer Book now in use and the first of Edward, is the fairest way of forming an opinion; and this can be best accomplished by presenting some of the most important paragraphs in each in parallel columns.

The Prayer Book now in use.	*Edward VI's First Prayer Book*, 1549.
The priest standing at the north side of the table shall say the Lord's Prayer, &c.	The priest that shall execute the holy ministry, shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say, a white Alb; plain, with a vestment or cope, &c. The *priest*, standing humbly afore *the midst of the Altar*, shall say the Lord's Prayer, &c.

By a comparison of these extracts it will be seen that the Prayer Book of 1549 calls the table "an altar," sanctions the vestments now declared to be illegal, and the eastward position; and implies that the Priest is offering a propitiatory sacrifice in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. If this were permitted to be used alternately with that now in use, it would involve the repeal of the Act of Uniformity, and bring the administration of the Communion in the Church of England very near indeed to the Romish Mass.

Omitted designedly—so that these gestures are at present illegal.	As touching kneeling, crossing, holding up of hands, knocking upon the breast and other gestures, they may be used or left, as every man's devotion serveth, without blame.
The priest shall then place upon the table so much bread and wine, as he shall think sufficient. After which done, the priest shall say, &c.	Then shall the minister take so much bread and wine, as shall suffice for the persons appointed to receive the Holy Communion, laying the bread upon the corporas, or else in the paten, or in some other comely thing prepared for that purpose; And putting the wine into the chalice, or else in some fair or convenient cup prepared for that use (if the chalice will not serve), *putting thereto a little pure and clean water*; And setting both the bread and wine upon the Altar; then the priest shall say, &c.

The mixing of water with the wine is practised in the Church of Rome, but is not now lawful in the Church of England.

Prayer Book now in use.	*Prayer Book of* 1549.
It shall suffice that the bread be such as is usual to be eaten.	It is meet that the bread prepared for the Communion be made, through all this realm, after one sort and fashion: that is to say, unleavened, and round, as it was afore, but without all manner of print, and something more larger and thicker than it was, so that it may be aptly divided in divers pieces: and every one shall be divided in two pieces, at the least, or more, by the discretion of the minister, and so distributed. And men must not think less to be received in part than in the whole, but in *each of them the whole body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.*

If the restoration of this passage be not going back very near to Transubstantiation, it is only because a thing cannot be near to itself.

The priest shall . . . deliver . . . *into their hands.*	That an uniformity might be used throughout the whole realm, it is thought convenient the people commonly receive the Sacrament of Christ's body *in their mouths*, at the priest's hands.
And note, that every parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Easter to be one.	Furthermore, every man and woman *to be bound* to hear and be at the Divine Service, in the *Parish Church where they be resident.*
Let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned minister of God's Word, and open his grief; that *by the ministry of God's Holy Word* he may receive the benefit of absolution.	Let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned priest, taught in the law of God, and confess and open his grief *secretly*, that he may receive such ghostly counsel, advice, and comfort, that his conscience may be relieved. and that *of us* (as of the ministers of God and of the Church) he may receive comfort and absolution to the satisfaction of his mind.

Let it be noted that in the Prayer Book of 1549 the Confession is to be *secret*, and the absolution "*of us;*" but in our Prayer Book the Confession is not so described, and the absolution is by the ministry of God's Word.

Prayer Book now in use.

We also bless thy holy name, for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear; beseeching thee to give us grace so to follow their good example, that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom.

Prayer Book of 1549.

And here we do give unto thee most high praise, and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue, declared in all thy saints from the beginning of the world; and chiefly in the glorious and most blessed Virgin Mary, mother of thy Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, and in the holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, whose examples, O Lord, and steadfastness in thy faith, and keeping thy holy commandments, grant us to follow. *We commend unto thy mercy O Lord,* all other thy servants *which are departed hence from us, with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace: Grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy and everlasting peace, &c.*

In this passage and in the two following let the prayers for the dead be noticed, and the relation of such prayers to purgatory not forgotten.

We therefore commit his body to the ground; earth to earth, &c.

Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord, and with whom the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity; We give thee hearty thanks, &c.

I commend thy soul to God the Father Almighty and thy body to the ground, earth to earth, &c.

O Lord, with whom do live the spirits of them that be dead: and in whom the souls that be elected, after they be delivered from the burden of the flesh, be in joy and felicity; Grant unto this, thy servant, that the sins which he committed in this world be not imputed to him, but that he, escaping the gates of hell, and pains of eternal darkness, may ever dwell in the region of light, &c.

Churching of Women.

Purification of Women.

The woman that is purified, must offer her *chrisom,* and other accustomed offerings.

Baptism.

The Godfathers and Godmothers, and the people with the children, must be ready at *the font,* . . .

Baptism.

The Godfathers, Godmothers, and people with the children, must be ready at the *church door,* . . . and then,

Prayer Book now in use.

Then the priest shall take the child into his hands and shall say to the Godfathers and Godmothers, Name this child. And then naming it after them (if they shall certify him that the child may well endure it) he shall dip it in the water discreetly and warily, &c.

Prayer Book of 1549.

standing there, the priest shall ask, &c. . . . and say (the exhortation and the first prayer)—make a cross upon the child's forehead and breast, saying, Receive the sign of the Holy Cross, both in thy forehead, and on thy breast in token, &c. (then the next prayer).

Then let the priest, looking upon the children, say—

I command thee, unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou come out, and depart from these infants, whom our Lord Jesus Christ hath vouchsafed to call to his holy baptism, to be made members of his body, and of his holy congregation. Therefore, thou cursed spirit, remember thy sentence, remember thy judgment, remember the day to be at hand wherein thou shalt burn in fire everlasting, prepared for thee and thy angels. And presume not hereafter to exercise any tyranny toward these infants, whom Christ hath bought with his precious blood, and by this, his holy baptism calleth to be of his flock.

(Then follow the Gospel and exhortation, the Lord's Prayer and Belief, and a thanksgiving.) Then let the priest take one of the children by the hand, the other being brought after him. And coming into the Church toward the font, say—

The Lord vouchsafe to receive you into his holy household, and to keep and govern you alway in the same, that you may have everlasting life Amen.

Then the priest shall take the child in his hands, and ask the name. And naming the child, shall dip it in the water thrice. First dipping the right side; second, the left side; the third time dipping the face toward the font; so it be discreetly and warily done,

Prayer Book now in use.

Office of the Visitation of the Sick.

Hear us, Almighty and most Merciful God and Saviour: extend thy accustomed goodness to this thy servant who is grieved with sickness. Sanctify, we beseech thee, this thy fatherly correction to *him;* that the sense of *his* weakness may add strength to *his* faith, and seriousness to *his* repentance: That, if it be thy good pleasure to restore *him* to *his* former health, &c.

Prayer Book of 1549.

&c. And if the child be weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it, saying the foresaid words: N., I baptize thee, &c.

Then the Godfathers and Godmothers shall take and lay their hands upon the child, and the minister shall put upon him his white vesture, commonly called the chrisom; and say, Take this white vesture for a token of *the innocency, which by God's grace in this holy sacrament of baptism is given unto thee;* and for a sign whereby thou art admonished, so long as thou livest, to give thyself to innocency of living, that, after this transitory life, thou mayest be partaker of the life everlasting. Amen.

Then shall the priest *anoint the infant* upon the head, saying, Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath regenerate thee by water and the Holy Ghost, and hath given unto thee remission of all thy sins: he vouchsafe to anoint thee with the unction of his Holy Spirit, and bring thee to the inheritance of everlasting life.

Office of the Visitation of the Sick.

Hear us, Almighty and most Merciful God and Saviour: extend thy accustomed goodness to this thy servant which is grieved with sickness. Visit him, O Lord, as thou didst visit Peter's wife's mother and the captain's servant. And as *thou preservedst Thobie and Sara by thy angel from danger:* So restore unto this sick person his former health, &c.

If the sick person desire to be anointed, then shall the priest anoint him upon the forehead and breast only, . . . saying, &c.

Whosoever willingly, upon no just cause doth absent themselves, or doth ungodly in the parish church occupy themselves, upon proof thereof, by the

Prayer Book now in use.	*Prayer Book of* 1549.
	Ecclesiastical laws of the Realm, to be excommunicated or suffer other punishment, as shall to the Ecclesiastical judge (according to his discretion), seem convenient.

These extracts from the first Prayer Book of Edward VI, are sufficient to show the retrograde tendency of Ritualism as evidenced by the proposal of its representative, the President of the English Church Union, to recur to it. Permission to use that Prayer Book alternately with the one now in use would involve the repeal of the Act of Uniformity, and the Public Worship Regulation Act together: and render it lawful for clergymen of the Church of England to use the illegal vestments, the eastward position, the illegal actions and postures, the mixing of water with the wine, wafer bread, secret confessions, praying for the dead, exorcism, and extreme unction, and to hold the false doctrines of a propitiatory sacrifice offered by the priest in the Eucharist, Transubstantiation, Baptismal regeneration, Purgatory, and the Divine inspiration of the Apocrypha; thus annulling many of the Thirty-nine Articles, as well as the two Acts before mentioned.

And all this is sought to be effected by the specious proposal of permitting the alternate use of another (Protestant) Prayer Book with that now in use. To persons who do not know what is involved in the proposal, it may seem very modest and reasonable; but there is dynamite enough under that cloak to rend the Protestant Church of England into fragments.

Oh! the subtle craftiness whereby the Ritualists lie in wait to deceive. They tell us that the object of the English Church Union is to defend and maintain unimpaired the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and under this fair profession they endeavour to re-establish almost all the doctrines which the Church of England has repudiated ever since the Reformation, and to insinuate them into the Church by every unworthy artifice, ambiguity, and stratagem that the most subtle minds can conceive. They tell us also that they are supported by 13 bishops, 2600 clergy, and 18,000 laity: thus holding up the Church of England to the reprobation and contempt of the vast majority of her own laity, and of all other persons who set any value upon common honesty, truth, and faithfulness.

But who are the most blameworthy persons? Are they the 13 bishops and 2600 clergy (if such there be) who are members of the English Church Union? Or are they the 120 bishops and 20,400 clergy and 18,000,000 of laity, who suffer such an outrage to go on without obliging the traitors to leave the Church which they thus seek to betray?

There is no excuse for permitting such an abuse to continue, for the Church Association has been blest by God in its faithful endeavour to expose the evil and to "purge out the old leaven," but instead of being honoured for its faithfulness it has been reproached for no other reason than its determination not to be satisfied until the old leaven is purged out. It is neither malicious nor uncharitable to purge out the old leaven; but however painful the process may be, it is a Christian duty.

It has pleased God to raise up an instrumentality in the Church Association, by which, with His blessing, it can be done. Let the promoters be encouraged, the traducers of it be ashamed, the opposers put to silence, and the lukewarm become either cold or hot.

Published by the Church Association, and to be obtained at their Office, 14, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C. By Subscribers free for distribution. By others, at the price of 3s per 100.

6th Thousand.]

THE SECRETS OF RITUALISM.

A WORD OF WARNING.

By The REV. C. H. WAINWRIGHT, M.A., TRIN. COLL., CAM.

Vicar of Christ Church, Blackpool.

When the Earl of Redesdale, on 14th June, 1877, called the attention of the House of Lords to "The Priest in Absolution," the Archbishop of Canterbury is reported to have said, "The noble Earl asks whether our attention has already been drawn to this book, published by the Society of the Holy Cross. It is owing to the courtesy of the noble Earl himself that my attention was drawn to it very lately. I trust, and indeed feel convinced, that the persons represented by this book are very few indeed. I shall feel very much surprised if it should not turn out that there are only very few of the clergy of the Church among those persons." It is a remarkable fact that this book, "The Priest in Absolution," should have been published for twelve years, should have been made the subject of remark in public meetings connected with the Church Association, and yet should have excited no interest or anxiety on the part of the Bishops, until it is spoken of in the House of Lords; and even then it is referred to, not as a part of a system, or as one of a series of volumes all teaching the same error, and tending to corrupt the public mind in the same direction, but as a solitary volume, published by a small society, and embracing within its influence a very insignificant number of the clergy; and thus it leads the public to conclude that if only that one volume be withdrawn, and clergymen declare that they have broken connection with the Society of the Holy Cross, the difficulty is over, and the danger to the community at large is removed. In order to prevent so fatal a delusion taking possession of people's minds, I venture to step forth from comparative seclusion, and offer to the attention of the Bishops on the one hand, and of the laity of the Church of England on the other, facts which I am capable of proving, and which I challenge the leaders of Ritualism to deny.

Ritualism may be regarded under a twofold aspect. There is the external aspect, which it presents to the outsider; and there is the internal aspect, which is seen only by the privileged and initiated. To the former it presents itself as a system of forms and ceremonies,

of ornate services and imposing ritual; to the latter it is a system with a definite object, well defined principles of action, and marvellously organized for the accomplishment of the end which it desires. And further the one is intended to be a means to conduct to the other: thus the elaborate service, the gorgeous ritual and exquisite music are the attractions employed to decoy people, and especially the young, from the simple and Scriptural worship of the Church of England: but they are not the ultimate objects of Ritualism, they are but the beautiful and winding paths which conduct the worshipper to the inner temple,—the means used to prepare him for the teaching which will follow, and which when received will develop the principles which characterize the Ritualist. The first of these is secrecy. Secret societies, secret oaths, secret intrigues and plots, secret books, abound in Ritualism. One of these has, in the province of God, been brought to light, and the consequence is the public are alarmed. They are indignant that such inquiries as the book suggests should be tolerated in the Church of England. They look to the Bishops for protection, and the answer they receive to their appeal is to the effect that there is no occasion for alarm, "the persons represented by this book are very few indeed"; in fact, the Archbishop will "feel very much surprised if it should not turn out that there are only very few of the clergy of the Church among these persons." But supposing the Archbishop should be mistaken, and he should presently become very much surprised at the large number of clergy to be found among these persons, what does he propose to do to alter this condition? or even if the number be very few, what course of action will be taken with the few? Will they be allowed to continue in the Church, practising confession as before, and corrupting and depraving the minds of those who confess to them by insinuating the obscenities contained in this book; or will they be proceeded against for enjoining auricular confession contrary to the teaching of the Church of England; or what will be the upshot? The public have a right to inquire, and the Bishops are in duty bound to inform them. But startling as are these disclosures, they do not represent the danger which threatens, not only the Church, but also the community at large. I have stated that there are secret societies at work, and that there are intrigues and plots, not only laid, but carried out, under the name of secret missions.

Now let me explain what I mean. Information is obtained through the confessional of certain things which may subserve the purposes of the party, but is deficient in certain particulars which would make it available, which particulars concern persons whose names are known, and who are able to reveal the missing links in the chain of evidence. Accordingly, from the information so obtained, a secret mission is undertaken. A person of intelligence and tact is sent into that family in any capacity in which he or she can gain admission: it may be as a servant, to listen to the conver-

sation which takes place over the dinner table; or it may be in the capacity of tutor or governess, who can gain more easily the confidence of the family. The new comer is highly recommended as a person of great respectability, and brings testimonials from clergymen and others, as a person who may be trusted anywhere, and who may be esteemed a treasure by any family fortunate enough to obtain his services. Or it may be a strange clergyman comes into the town with letters of introduction to certain families in the neighbourhood. He no sooner presents his credentials than he is received, and as he appears a very charming man, is at once welcomed, and assured that his visits during his short stay will be greatly valued. He obtains the confidence of the family, is acquainted with circumstances in which they are interested. He talks about people who are known to both, and draws them out upon the subject on which he seeks information. He obtains all he can, and then vanishes as suddenly as he first appeared. The missing link is found, the information required is obtained, and now the plot may be laid. Or it may assume a different aspect altogether. A nobleman or member of Parliament comes into a neighbourhood for a short time, and it is important, on account of revelations made in the confessional, that information be obtained respecting the matters referred to by the person confessing. There is no opening in the family for a secret agent, but there are servants in the family who belong to a particular denomination, which denomination is not represented in the place where the nobleman or member of Parliament lives. At once a person is sent,—he may be a clergyman or, as they call it, a priest, or he may be a layman,—to open a service in that place according to the views of the people from whom the required information is sought. Announcement is made that a service will be held, or that Gospel addresses will be given, or that the Gospel will be preached in a certain place at a given time. The servants who belong to the denomination are thankful for the announcement, and at once resolve to attend the service at the appointed hour. Once there they are easily recognized, and the preacher, when the service is over, pays them the attention of speaking to them,—asks them where they live, and whether it would be agreeable that he should come and see them. Of course he is invited, and when he goes the conversation naturally turns upon the subject in which he is interested. He obtains the information he wants, continues the services in the room a little longer, then declares the cause to be a failure, the room is closed, and the preacher vanishes.

Still the object has been gained; and thus by means of the confessional aiding secret societies, which societies furnish the necessary agents, plots are laid, and ends compassed such as the public can form no conception of. However, I can readily believe that as the public read these pages and become acquainted for the first time with the facts which they disclose, the feelings upon most minds will be—"This cannot be true: it is a gross exaggeration! Things

cannot have come to this, or else surely the Bishops would interfere and put them down." To set the matter at rest, I challenge the leaders of Ritualism to deny this. I don't mean that I challenge some young man, who has neither reputation nor character as a Ritualist, to deny it; but I call upon the leaders of the party to state, if they dare, that they are ignorant of such things as secret missions: that they have never countenanced them, and that at the present moment there are none taking place under their direction. I also ask them at the same time whether they know any other secret books besides "The Priest in Absolution,"—books which they dare not entrust to the Post Office to be delivered, which bear no name upon them, but purport to be issued by the "Committee of Clergy." Such books are transmitted from hand to hand: the person receiving them is sworn to secrecy. The books are never seen: they are locked up in the safest cupboard of the house, and if the person to whom they are entrusted goes from home, they may not be left in the house alone.

But lest the public should imagine that there is no truth in the things which I have stated, I will indicate the names of two of these secret books, and give a quotation from one of them. The books are called "Instructions for Novices," and "Instructions for Associates." The following quotation is taken from the latter: "You are to associate with all strangers, heretical as well as Christian Catholic. If heretical, to be civil, and *not to discover your profession;* and for the better procurement of these designs you may, with leave of any three of the Society, be permitted to wear what dress or habit you think convenient, provided the Society hear from the party so dispensed. Any of you thus dispensed with may go with the heretic to any of their heretical meetings. In case any of you be thus employed, ye are dispensed with, to go with heretics to their churches, or as you see convenient. If you own yourselves clergymen, then to preach, but with caution, till ye be well acquainted with those heretics you converse with, and then *by degrees add to your doctrine*, by ceremonies or otherwise, as you find them inclinable. If ye be known by any of the lay Catholics, you are to pacify them by saying secret mass unto them, or by acquainting other priests (who are not able to undertake this work) with your intentions, who do generally say mass unto them.

"In case in strange countries ye be known by merchants or others trading or travelling thither, for to strengthen your designs the more for your intention, you are dispensed with to marry after their manner; and then ye safely may make answer that heretical marriage is no marriage, for your dispensation mollifies it so, that at the worst it is but a venial sin, and may be forgiven. Ye are not to preach all after one method, but to observe the place wherein ye come. If Lutheranism be prevalent, then preach Calvinism; if Calvinism, then Lutheranism. If in England, then either of them, or John Huss' opinions, Anabaptism, or any that

are contrary to the Holy See of St. Peter, by which *your function will not be suspected*, and yet you may still act on the interest of mother Church; there being, as the Council are agreed on, no *better way* to demolish that Church of heresy, but by mixtures of doctrines and by adding of ceremonies more than be at present permitted."

Again I challenge the Ritualists to deny that these books exist and that these quotations are found in them; and, with all respect, I ask the Bishops to consider whether the increase and prevalence of Ritualism in this country are not due to the faithful carrying out of the instructions which are given here?

Surely there must be something in these books which dreads the light. They must relate to things which it is inexpedient that the public should know, but which are most essential to the success of the Ritualistic movement. Now supposing one of these books was to be revealed to light, and another inquiry made in the House of Lords respecting its contents,—is the only satisfaction and redress that the public may expect, to be an expression of surprise on the part of the Archbishop that such a book should be found, and the assurance on his part that the number of Clergymen who use it is very small? I ask, supposing the number to be only one, what right has that one to a position in the Church of England, and what means will be taken in order to get rid of him? I ask further, in what way can the public interpret the conduct of the Bishops when they hear them at their consecration, in answer to the question put by the Archbishop, "Are you ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's Word, and both privately and openly to call upon and encourage others to do the same?" Answer: "I am ready, the Lord being my helper." And when asked again by the Archbishop, "Will you maintain and set forward, as much as shall lie in you, quietness, love, and peace among all men; and such as be unquiet, *disobedient*, and criminous within your diocese, correct and punish, according to such authority as you have by God's Word, and as to you shall be committed by the Ordinance of this realm?" The Bishop answers, "I will do so, by the help of God."

Now fully believing that the Bishops at the time of their consecration intended honestly to observe the promises they then made, I ask what infatuation can have seized them which causes them to act as if those promises had never been made, and as if no measure of responsibility rested upon them for the false doctrine and unlawful practices which are now tolerated in the Church of England?

Surely it was never intended that a Bishop should perform those duties connected with his office which are most congenial to his tastes and temperament, but neglect or ignore other duties as necessary, but not as pleasant; and at a time when danger threatens and conspiracy is rife, excuse himself from exercising the authority committed to him by the Ordinance of the realm, by saying that he will not be a party to promote the prosecution of its clergy.

The matter resolves itself simply into a question of duty. Ought a Bishop, who has promised to use all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine, to do so, or ought he not? The Bishops would probably reply that they recognize their responsibility, but they deem the number of disloyal clergy to be so small, that it is wiser and more expedient to leave them alone. Such was their language at the commencement of the Ritualistic movement, and such has been their policy up to the present time. What is the result? Have disloyal men become more loyal? Have churches that were extreme in Ritual become more moderate? And has the number of clergy who defy the law been reduced? Surely the opposite of this is true. Ritual has become more extravagant, confession become more common, the sacrifice of the Mass more openly and unblushingly proclaimed, and the number of Ritualistic clergy increased at every ordination.

And while I am speaking about the increase of Ritualism, I would call the attention of the public to an institution which appears perfectly harmless in itself, until its real object is understood: I refer to choir schools. These are multiplying rapidly. The public, in their innocence, would imagine that the object of a choir school was to train a choir; and that when that was accomplished, the object of the school was realized. But this is not the case. The boys who are taken into these schools are, in the first instance, taught to sing, and fitted for the choir: but in addition to this they receive the best education that can be given, in order to prepare them afterwards to undertake the office of clergymen in the Church of England. They are, from the time of entering the school, trained in Ritualistic doctrine and practice. They are accustomed to go to confession, and are prepared for practising those arts and devices which, in after years, shall contribute to the success and spread of Ritualism. What will be the effect upon the Church and the community when, in a few years, these boys have become men, and offer themselves for ordination, —not by ones and twos, but by tens and twenties,—and when the whole Church has been inundated with them? Will that be the time to awake to a sense of danger, and begin to consider what is best to be done? or will it then be said the time for action is past: we must now leave things to take their course? If so, then the Church of England,—the bulwark of Protestantism in this country, the noblest institution of which it boasts,—is destroyed; not by means of assault carried on openly from without, but in consequence of treachery practised secretly within.

In anticipation and dread of such a calamity the people are inquiring, "How do you account for the apathy of the Bishops, and for the way in which they apologize and make excuses for the clergy who are obnoxious to the law?" I answer, that there is no class of men whom I pity more sincerely than I do the Bishops. There are but few clergymen who know less about the *real* state of a diocese than the Bishop does who presides over it; in fact, they have not the chance of knowing the things which take place.

They are surrounded by men who are seeking promotion at their hands,—men who talk to them as they think they would like them to talk, and who would be the last to inform them of any thing which would cause them pain, or give rise to uneasiness. If a difficulty does occur they endeavour to smooth it over, or they place alongside of it facts on the other side which they think will counterbalance it. Thus against the spread of false doctrines they balance the increase of church building, and the amount of money raised for the purpose of church restoration, and the Bishop is informed, to his delight, that there will be so many new churches to consecrate in the current year, and there will be so much money expended in the diocese for church building; the inference he draws is that the Church is flourishing, its hold upon the people is increasing, and that there is no reason to be alarmed by the disclosures which have recently been made.

This inference, however, is not necessarily correct, for the benefit resulting from the building of a church depends upon the use which is to be made of it when the church is built. If the church is to be made a place for teaching false doctrine, practising confession, and carrying on practices forbidden by the law, then I am bold to affirm that the building of that church, so far from contributing to the benefit of the parish, has been a positive injury to it, and that instead of being a blessing it has proved a curse; and considering the number of new churches which have required an enormous expenditure of money, but which have been used simply for the propagation of error and the maintenance of lawlessness, I am not prepared to accept either the number of churches built, or the amount of money expended upon their erection, as an evidence of the healthy condition of the Church, or of the hold which it has upon the people.

Before I pass on to another subject, I should like, for the benefit of my readers, to take a parting glance at the confessional. And first, let me tell them that there are licensed confessors and those who are not licensed, and that the one may easily be distinguished from the other by such as are initiated. The priest, habited in cassock, surplice, tippet, and biretta, and in presence of a crucifix, prepares to receive a confession; and the person confessing has to unburden his mind of everything which he knows, both of things spiritual or temporal, as the case may be. A Ritualist came into my study some time since, and in the course of conversation said she would not for the world have her daughter pass through what she had done in the confessional, and she sought my advice as to the best means of preventing it. It appeared that the girl was on the point of being prepared for confession; and in the course of the preparation required, the Ritualistic priest had forbidden her to reveal to anyone, even her own mother, the things which he told her. And thus, for the first time in her life, a stranger stood between the mother and the child; and she who had always before been acquainted with everything that transpired with reference to

her daughter, was now no longer to enjoy her confidence, because the child was required to make the priest, and not her mother, the depositary of the inner secrets of her soul.

Let this preparation proceed a little further, and the child be once entangled in the meshes of the confessional, and she becomes the tool of the priest, and is bound to obey whatever orders he may give. Thus it is that when Ritualists attend what they call a Protestant church,—and thank God there are still many in the land,—they are required either to withdraw as soon as the sermon begins, or to read a book as long as it continues: both of which I see frequently done in my own church, by visitors who attend it during their visit to Blackpool in the season.

In further proof of the power which the Ritualistic priests exercise over those who confess to them, I would state, that a Ritualist once came to me in great distress about her spiritual condition. After conversation I offered her Bonar's "God's Way of Peace." She said she dare not read it: it had been recommended to her by a Christian friend, but she was compelled to give it up before she had read it. I then offered her a book written by a clergyman in London, who was himself at one time a very High Churchman, but who is now a thorough Evangelical, and does much in evangelistic work. She said she had already been "punished" for attending a service which he conducted in the town where she lived. Now do not imagine that the person referred to is a child or even a young woman. She is in middle age and the mother of a family, some of whom are nearly grown up; and yet she is exposed to punishment, because in the exercise of her own private judgment she attends a service conducted by a clergyman belonging to the very same Church to which these Ritualists profess to belong. At this present moment I know of a Ritualistic priest who, after attending a Protestant church no later than last July, went to confess his misdeed, and is now suffering punishment away from his parish for having done so. Surely it is high time that we awoke out of sleep and began to realize the dangers which threaten us, and the priestly tyranny which is exercised amongst us.

With these facts before the public, what advantage is it to be told that the book called "The Priest in Absolution" will be withdrawn? It is not a book which must be withdrawn, but a system which must be disallowed. It is not "The Priest in Absolution" but the whole system of the confessional that must be done away, if our liberty is to be secured and our Protestant faith maintained. The Ritualists are prepared to give up books and to withdraw from societies pronounced objectionable, if by so doing they may divert the attention of the public from the confessional, which is the stronghold of Ritualism. A leading Ritualist in Manchester is reported in the daily papers to have said that he will resign his church rather than renounce the confessional. He is wise in this determination. He knows the power which the

confessional gives him, and that if he were shut out from the secrets of families and of persons, his power would be gone, and Ritualism soon be destroyed. Hence they are prepared to relinquish anything so that they may retain the one thing which above everything else is the one thing needful to them. I caution the public against being thrown off their guard by any such concessions. The withdrawing a book and the relinquishing a society neither alter practices nor change doctrines, and in spite of those concessions a man may continue as he was before. In the late Manchester Mission (which by-the-bye has established Ritualism in Manchester), two clergymen were appointed missioners to a church of a moderate type. A lady consults one of them respecting her state. The missioner consulted gives her a book called "The Inner Life." At page 99 I find these words respecting the Sacrament: "Scarcely have the words of consecration been uttered by the priest, when heaven opens, God as it were descends to earth, the body and blood of Jesus Christ are upon the altar. Nor is this all. In what a state of humiliation and abasement is this victim! He appears on the altar without pomp, magnificence, or show of greatness, that He may not dazzle the eye by the splendour of His glory." At page 100 I find: "The sacrifice of the Eucharist is fundamentally and substantially the very same as that of Calvary. There is absolutely the same Offerer, the same Victim, and the value is the same; the only difference being in the manner, in that the sacrifice on Calvary was bloody, that on the altar is unbloody; but in both the sacrifice is truly, really, and substantially the same." At page 104 I read: "Let us offer the sacrifice for all in whom we are interested, whether living or dead, since the holy Eucharist is a sacrifice equally for the living and the dead."

I may state that the book is written by a Roman Catholic, but circulated by a clergyman of the Established Church. I observe from the papers of last week that this same clergyman has renounced his connection with the Society of the Holy Cross, and I inquire what appreciable difference does this make? What does it guarantee? What extent of change does it represent in the man's views? Are any of these doctrines altered? From being one who calls himself an Anglican priest, does he now become a Protestant? Surely not. The only difference is, that now his Bishop is enabled to tell the public that he has withdrawn from having any connection with the Society, and that at the present time there are only a very few of the clergy who are connected with or compromised by it. Hence the public need not be alarmed. It would be very uncharitable to say that these men are not sincere, or that they do not desire to do what they think to be right, and therefore the best policy is to do nothing and to leave them alone. Thus the conspiracy spreads and the danger increases. The Bishops look on, apologize for what they see, and content themselves with doing nothing to alter it.

That I may not be charged with misstating the conduct of the

Bishops with reference to the present crisis, I quote, in proof of my assertions, from a speech of the Bishop of Manchester, reported in *The Manchester Courier*:—

"If he were to read to them some of the Resolutions passed in Manchester not very long ago, couched in very strong language, and to which he must send a cautious, and he hoped, a courteous answer, they would see the Bishops were expected to do some very unpleasant and difficult things just at the present time. He could only speak of what fell within his own knowledge and observation; but as he thought there was something approaching a panic, at any rate an unreasonable amount of alarm, existing in the minds of the laity, as to the present condition of things in the Church of England, he could only say, when one heard of a great conspiracy to overthrow the Protestant character, and what he considered to be the really Catholic teaching of the Church of England, that the conspirators in his diocese were remarkably few; he believed he could count them on the fingers of a single hand; and there were in the diocese of Manchester 750 clergymen. Therefore he did wish to reassure men's minds, and to persuade them that there was not a Jesuit under every bed, and that every clergyman was not desirious of Romanizing the Church of England."

In connection with these remarks of the Bishop, I beg to state that his Lordship must be miserably ignorant of the actual condition of his diocese if he supposes that the fingers of the one hand will represent the number of Ritualistic conspirators which it contains. To represent them he would have to hold up both hands and spread out both feet, and then he would be far short of the true number. But even supposing the Bishop to be right when he admits that there are five conspirators in the diocese, what does he propose to do with these five? From the tenor of his remarks I should answer nothing. Supposing a military commander was aware that there were only five conspirators in the garrison which he commanded, would he go uncensured if he allowed them to remain there? Would the Bishop advise him to leave them alone because they were so few, or would he declaim against the unfaithfulness of the General who permitted the traitors to continue, in spite of the information he received of their existence? I ask, is not the Bishop as much bound by his Ordination Vows to banish and drive away those who teach false doctrine as a Commander of a Garrison is to bring to punishment those within the garrison who are convicted of conspiracy? With regard to the last sentence, in which the Bishop says, "He did wish to reassure men's minds, and to persuade them that there was not a Jesuit under every bed, and that every clergyman was not desirous of Romanizing the Church of England," I can only say that though there is not a burglar in every street, nor a thief in every house, the fact that thieves exist is not disputed, nor that it is the duty of the police to apprehend them, and of the magistrates to punish them.

Meanwhile the impression deepens in the public mind, and is

promoted by the Press, that Disestablishment is the only remedy for the evils of the Church; and the Ritualists, who are wishful for Disestablishment, rejoice. I ask my readers calmly to consider what would be the effect of Disestablishment upon the Church, and in what way it would promote the interests of Protestantism, and put down the Romish tendencies of the present movement. I notice that already 1000 Ritualistic clergymen have formed themselves into a society to promote the cause of Disestablishment. Can it be reasonably supposed that they do this because they know that it would be injurious to themselves? or may it not be concluded with greater probability that they see the only hindrance to success at the present time is the connection of the Church with the State, and therefore they wish to have the connection broken, so that they may carry all before them? Some years ago *The Westminster Gazette*, a Roman Catholic publication, declared "if Catholicism was ever to regain possession of the nation it must be over the ruins of the Anglican Establishment." Therefore the object now is to accomplish the overthrow of this Establishment: they purpose to do it by two different means. They have agents among the Nonconformists clamouring for Disestablishment on the ground of inequality; they have Ritualists within the Establishment seeking its overthrow, because the iron hand of the law restrains them in the accomplishment of their object, which is to unprotestantize the Church of England. Hence the duty of Protestants of every denomination is to uphold the Establishment, and to secure for the country this bulwark of Protestant truth. To advocate its removal is treachery; to accomplish it is suicide. Still it is impossible that things can continue as they are, and the public await with anxiety an answer to the question, What is to be done? The Bishops affirm they have little power, and they wish that they could have more. To this assertion I venture to give, with the utmost respect, a most unqualified denial, and I unhesitatingly declare that the Bishops have the power to put down and to stamp out Ritualism if they were so disposed. They have nursed it, protected it, apologized for it,—now let them deal with it. Up to the present moment they have done nothing to retard its progress, or to discourage its growth. What have they done? When the notorious church of All Saints', Margaret Street, London, was rendered vacant by the death of Mr. Richards, and an opportunity was granted to the Bishop of London to put down Ritualism there, how did he avail himself of it? He deliberately appointed the Rev. Berdmore Compton, a Ritualist of the most pronounced type, to the charge of the living, and instead of stamping out Ritualism in that parish he tenderly fostered it. But that is not the only case. I need not go farther than the diocese in which I live, and call your attention to the town of Heywood. There are two churches in that town, and of these two one was Evangelical up to a very recent period. The Bishop removes the Evangelical and supplies the place by appointing a clergyman who is a member

of the English Church Union, so that the whole town of Heywood, so far as the Church is concerned, is deprived of Evangelical teaching. Ritualism is increasing, loyalty to the Church is proportionately weakening, and the Bishop is satisfied. Still the Bishops say they have no power. I would ask the notorious Mr. Nihil whether the late Bishop Lee had no power? I remember him being curate at St. Alban's, Manchester, where he began his vagaries, and no sooner was the Bishop informed of it than he revoked his license and stamped him out. Ritualism did not flourish in Manchester in those days. With Dr. Lee as Bishop, and Canon Stowell as his chaplain, the diocese was free from it. Alas, it is not so now! Still the same power is intrusted to the Bishops, and they are able, if they were only willing, in the space of one twenty-four hours to withdraw every curate from every Ritualistic church in the land. This would do much to weaken Ritualism; but that is not sufficient. The laity must do their part, and the advice which I would give is, that at once a guarantee fund be raised, and a committee formed, whose business it shall be to enforce the observance of the law in every church, and that the power of the Public Worship Act should be expended upon every Ritualist there is. This would drive them out of the Church, and in a body they would depart. Their number would not be reduced, but their position would be altered. The Church would be relieved of an incubus which has well nigh overwhelmed her, and she would again be able to battle with Romanism as she has done before. But even then it would be necessary that the Bishops exhibit all possible care in admitting candidates to Ordination, otherwise the disease would break out again, and require another amputation in order to its cure.

The truth is that Ritualism is an adaptation of Jesuitism. They are linked together by the closest ties, they are presided over by the same head, they are worked by the same agents; and at this very time, when meetings are being held in different parts of the country to consider how to expose and put down the evil, there are corresponding meetings in London composed of Ritualists and Jesuits, carried on with closed doors and almost with bated breath, to devise means which shall counteract the energy put forth and destroy the influence exerted.

To be a match for our opponents, we must be in earnest. To obtain the victory, we must be prompt. We cannot afford to delay, for the conspiracy grows stronger, its leaders more desperate. We require every man, in his own sphere and position, to discharge his duty in the matter, and realizing the danger to himself and his country, to solemnly declare, "The Protestant religion and the liberties of England I will maintain!"

To be obtained at the Office of the CHURCH ASSOCIATION, 14, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, at the price of 8*d* per dozen, or 4*s* 6*d* per 100.

14th Thousand.]

The obligations arising from the Constitutional relations of Church and State seem to be strangely unknown or forgotten or contemned. Attention is earnestly requested to the following as showing the conditions under which the Church of England is established by law, and what consequences must ensue if these conditions are violated.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT OF CHURCH AND STATE.

COMPACTS AND OBLIGATIONS THENCE ARISING.

An Act for taking away the writ "De Hæretico Comburendo." A.D. 1676. (29 Ch. II., c. ix., § 2.)

"Provided always, that nothing in this Act shall extend or be construed to take away or abridge the jurisdiction of PROTESTANT ARCHBISHOPS OR BISHOPS, or any other Judges of any Ecclesiastical Courts in cases of Atheism, Blasphemy, Heresy or Schism, and other damnable Doctrines and Opinions, but that they may proceed to punish the same according to His Majesty's Ecclesiastical Laws, by Excommunication, Deprivation, Degradation, and other Ecclesiastical censures not extending to Death, in such sort and no other, as they might have done before the making of this Act."

1677. **[An Act for the more effectual preserving the King's person and government by disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament.** (30 Chas. II., cap. 2.) This Act was repealed, but under it came:

THE OLD OATHS BEFORE TAKING OFFICE.

See DECLARATION made by the Sovereign under the "Act of Settlement," p. 5.

"I, *A. B.*, do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the Elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, at or after the Consecration thereof by any person whatsoever. And that the Invocation and Adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint, and the Sacrifice of the Mass as they are now used in the Church of Rome are superstitious and idolatrous. And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify and declare that I do make this declaration and every part thereof in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me as they are commonly understood by *English Protestants*, without any Evasion, Equivocation, or mental Reservation whatever, or without any hope of any such dispensation from any power or authority whatsoever, or without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or Man or absolved of this declaration or any part thereof, although the Pope or any other person or persons or power whatsoever should dispense with or annul the same or declare that it was null and void from its beginning."]

THE NEW OATHS OF ALLEGIANCE AND SUPREMACY.

(1688. 1 Will. and Mary 1, c. 1, § 5, 6, 7.)

"It is hereby further enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, That the Oaths above appointed by the Act to be taken in the stead and place of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy shall be in the words following and no other:—

"I, *A. B.*, do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary. So help me God.

"I, *A. B.*, do swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure as impious and heretical that damnable Doctrine and Position—that Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope or any authority of the See of Rome may be deposed

or murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever. And I do declare that no Foreign *Prince*, *Person*, Prelate, State or Potentate hath or ought to have any power, jurisdiction, *Superiority*, *Pre-eminence* or Authority *Ecclesiastical* or *Spiritual* within this Realm. So help me God."

[This OATH OF THE QUEEN'S SUPREMACY is in the Offices for ORDERING DEACONS and PRIESTS and for CONSECRATING BISHOPS.]*

An Act for Establishing the Coronation Oath.

(1688. 1 W. & M., c. vi.)

"Whereas by the Law and ancient usage of this Realm the Kings and Queens thereof have taken a solemn Oath upon the Evangelists at their respective Coronations to maintain the Statutes, Laws, and Customs of the said Realm, and all the People and inhabitants thereof in their spiritual and civil rights and properties. But forasmuch the Oath itself on such occasion administered hath *heretofore been framed* in *doubtful words and expressions* with *relation to ancient Laws and Constitutions at this time unknown*. To the end therefore that one uniform oath may be in all times to come taken by the Kings and Queens of this Realm," &c.

"And be it enacted by the King's and Queen's most excellent Majesties by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same That the oath herein mentioned and hereafter expressed shall and may be administered to their most excellent Majesties King William and Queen Mary, whom God long preserve, at the time of their Coronation in the presence of all persons that shall be then and there present at the solemnizing thereof by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York, or either of them, or any other Bishop of this Realm, whom the King's Majesty shall

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* This oath has been again altered by 31 and 32 Vict., cap. 72, and now the Oath of Allegiance is as follows: "I, ——, do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, her heirs and successors according to law. So help me God."

thereunto appoint, and who shall be hereby thereunto respectively authorized: which Oath followeth, and shall be administered in this manner, that is to say:

III. "The ARCHBISHOP or BISHOP shall say—

'Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of England, and the Dominions thereto belonging, according to the Statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the Laws and Customs of the same?'

The KING and QUEEN shall say—

'I solemnly promise to do so.'

ARCHBISHOP or BISHOP—

'Will you to your power cause Law and Justice in Mercy to be executed in all your judgments?'

KING and QUEEN—

'I will.'

ARCHBISHOP or BISHOP—

'Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the Laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the PROTESTANT REFORMED RELIGION ESTABLISHED BY LAW? and will you preserve unto the Bishops and Clergy of this Realm and to the Churches committed to their charge all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain unto them or any of them?'

KING and QUEEN—

'All this I promise to do.'

After this the King and Queen, laying his and her hand upon the Holy Gospel, shall say—

KING and QUEEN—

'The things which I have before promised, I will perform and keep. So help me God.'

Then the KING and QUEEN shall kiss the Book.

IV. "And be it further enacted that the said Oath shall be in like manner administered to every King or Queen who shall succeed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm at their respective Coronations by one of the Archbishops or Bishops of this Realm of England for the time being, to be thereunto appointed by such King or Queen respectively and in the presence of all persons that shall be attending, assisting

or otherwise present at such their respective Coronations; any Law, Statute, or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding."

Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and settling the Succession of the Crown. (1669. 1 W. & M., Sess. 2 cap. 2, § 9 and 8.)

"And whereas it hath been found by experience that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this *Protestant Kingdom* to be governed by a Popish Prince, or by any King or Queen marrying a Papist, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do further pray that it may be enacted that all and every Person and Persons that is, are, or shall be, reconciled to, or *shall hold Communion with the See or Church of Rome*, or shall profess the Popish Religion, or shall marry a Papist shall be excluded, and be for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the Crown and Government of this Realm and Ireland and the Dominions thereunto belonging, or any part of the same, or to have, use, or exercise any Royal Power, Authority, or Jurisdiction within the same; and in all and every such Case or Cases the People of these Realms shall be and are hereby absolved of their Allegiance, and the said Crown and Government shall from time to time descend to, and be enjoyed by such Person or Persons being *Protestants*, as should have inherited and enjoyed the same in case the said Person or Persons so reconciled, holding Communion, or professing, or marrying as aforesaid, were naturally dead."

Declaration

which, under the "ACT OF SETTLEMENT," and by the law of England, every Sovereign of this country at his or her coronation must "make, subscribe, and audibly repeat."

Her Majesty made and signed this declaration in presence of the Houses of Parliament on the 20th day of November, 1837.

"I, Victoria, do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess and testify and declare that I do believe that in the

Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the Elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever; and that the Invocation or Adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration and every part thereof in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by *English Protestants*, without any Evasion, Equivocation, or mental Reservation, and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope, or any other authority or person whatsoever, or without any hope of any such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever, or without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration or any part thereof, although the Pope or any other person or persons or power whatsoever shall dispense with or annul the same or declare that it was null and void from its beginning."

CONSTITUTIONAL COMPACTS, &c.

Protestantism of the Church of England sanctioned and secured by Parliament.

Act for the Security of the Church of England.

(UNION WITH SCOTLAND.)

A.D. 1706. 5 Q. Anne, c. 5.

"That the Commissioners of that Treaty (of Union with Scotland) should not treat of, or concerning any alteration of the Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church of this Kingdom as now by law established. Which Treaty being now reported to Parliament, and it being reasonable and necessary that the TRUE PROTESTANT RELIGION, as presently possessed within this Kingdom, with the WORSHIP, DISCIPLINE, and GOVERNMENT OF THIS CHURCH, should be *effectually* and *unalterably secured*. Therefore, Her Majesty, with

advice and consent of the said Estate of Parliament, doth hereby establish and confirm the *said true Protestant Religion*, and the Worship, Government, and Discipline of this Church to continue without any alteration to the people of this land in all succeeding generations."

(A.D. 1800. UNION WITH IRELAND.)

The 5th Article of the Act of Union 39 and 40 George III., cap. 67, declares "that the Churches of England and Ireland, as now by Law established, be united in one *Protestant* Episcopal Church." Later still, in 1829, when the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed, the Church of England (10 George IV., cap. 7) is spoken of, Sect. 2, as the "*Protestant* Religion," and the Government as the "Protestant Government," and in Sect. 24, the Church of England is designated as the "*Protestant Episcopal Church.*"

From the Articles recommended by Archbishop Sancroft to all the Bishops within his jurisdiction. (1688.)

I. "That the Clergy often read over the forms of their Ordination, and *seriously consider what solemn vows and professions* they made therein to God and His Church, together with the *several oaths and subscriptions* they have taken and made upon divers occasions."

IX. "That they often exhort all those of our communion to continue steadfast to the end in their most holy faith and constant to their professions, and to that end to take heed of all seducers, and *especially of Popish emissaries, who are now in great numbers gone forth amongst them, and more busy and active than ever.*"

XI. ". . . More especially that they have a very tender regard to our brethren, the *Protestant Dissenters*, that upon occasion offered they visit them at their houses and receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever they meet them, discoursing calmly and civilly with them, if it may be to a full compliance with our Church . . . and in order hereunto that they take all opportunities of assuring and convincing them that the Bishops of the Church are

really and sincerely irreconcilable enemies to the errors, superstitions, idolatries, and tyrannies of the Church of Rome, and that the very *unkind jealousies* which some have had as to contrary, *were altogether groundless.*"

1865. Declaration of Assent.

Every person about to be ordained Priest or Deacon shall also before ordination in the presence of the Bishop or Archbishop by whom he is about to be ordained, at such time as he may appoint, make and subscribe the Declaration of Assent, and take and subscribe the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy. (28 & 29 Vict. c. 122, § 4.)

The Declaration of Assent as now settled is as follows:

"I, *A. B.*, do solemnly make the following declaration:—I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and the Book of Common Prayer, and of the ordering of the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. I believe the doctrine of the United Church of England and Ireland, as therein set forth, to be agreeable to the Word of God, and in Public Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments I will use *the form in the said book prescribed, and none other*, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority."

Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy.

The Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy as now settled is:—

(1858. 21 & 22 Vict. c. 48.)

"I, *A. B.*, do swear that I will be faithful and bear true Allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and will defend her to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatever which shall be made against her person, crown, or dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against her or them; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of my power, the succession of the crown, which succession, by an Act intituled 'An Act for the further limitation of the Crown,

and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject,' is and stands limited to the Princess Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and the heirs of her body being PROTESTANTS, hereby utterly renouncing and objuring any obedience or allegiance unto any other person claiming or pretending a right to the crown of this Realm. And I do declare that no Foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence, or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Civil, within this Realm. And I make this Declaration on the true faith of a Christian." (Laws of Church and Clergy, Cripps, p. 13.)*

(28 & 29 Vict. c. 122, § 7.)

Every person instituted or collated to any benefice with care of souls, or licensed to a perpetual curacy, shall on the first Lord's Day on which he officiates in the church of such benefice or perpetual curacy, or on such other Lord's Day as the ordinary may appoint and allow, publickly and openly, in the presence of the congregation there assembled, read the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF RELIGION, and immediately after reading the same, make the said *declaration of assent*, adding, after the words "Articles of Religion" in the said declaration, "the words which I have now read before you." (Eccles. Law, Phillimore, Vol. I., p. 483.)

CANON 48. (1603.)

None to be Curates but allowed by the Bishops.

"No Curate or Minister shall be permitted to serve in any place without examination and admission of the Bishop of the Diocese, or Ordinary of the place, having episcopal jurisdiction, in writing under his hand and seal, having respect to the greatness of the Cure, and meetness of the party. And the said Curates and Ministers, if they remove from one Diocese to another, *shall not be by any means admitted to serve* without testimony of the Bishop of the Diocese, or Ordinary of the place, as aforesaid, whence they came, in writing, of their honesty, ability, and CONFORMITY TO THE ECCLESIASTICAL LAWS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND."

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* This Oath has been altered by 31 and 32 Vict., cap. 72. *See* note page 3, supra.

The Archbishop of Canterbury's Letter to the Bishops of his Province. (1716.)

"In pursuance of the resolutions to which we unanimously agreed, I do now very earnestly recommend to you—

"That you do not by any means admit of any minister who removes from *another diocese to serve as a curate in your own* without testimony of the Bishop of that diocese, or ordinary of the peculiar jurisdiction from whence he comes, in writing of his honesty, ability, AND CONFORMITY TO THE ECCLESIASTICAL LAWS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND."

From the Service for Consecration of Bishops.

ARCHBISHOP: "Are you ready, WITH ALL FAITHFUL DILIGENCE to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's Word, and both PRIVATELY and OPENLY TO CALL UPON AND ENCOURAGE OTHERS TO DO THE SAME?"

ANSWER: "I am ready, the Lord being my helper."

ARCHBISHOP: "Will you maintain and set forward as much as shall lie in you quietness, love and peace among all men; and such as be UNQUIET, DISOBEDIENT, and CRIMINOUS within your diocese, correct and punish according to such authority as you have by God's Word, and as to you shall be committed by the Ordinance of this Realm?"

ANSWER: "I will so do, by the help of God."

From the Service the Ordering of Priests.

BISHOP: "Will you then give your faithful diligence always so to minister the Doctrine and Sacraments, and the Discipline of Christ as the Lord hath commanded and as this CHURCH AND REALM hath received the same, according to the Commandments of God; so that you may teach the people committed to your Care and Charge, with all diligence to keep and observe the same?"

ANSWER: "I will so do, by the help of the Lord."

BISHOP: "Will you be ready with ALL FAITHFUL DILIGENCE to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's Word?"

ANSWER: "I will, the Lord being my helper."

BISHOP: "Will you reverently *obey your ordinary* and *other chief ministers unto whom is committed the charge and government over you*, following with a glad mind, and will their *godly admonitions*, and *submitting yourselves* to their *godly judgment?*"

ANSWER: "I will so do, the Lord being my helper."

[The last question is the same also in the Office for Ordering of Deacons.]

Uniformity and Conformity.

CANON 14.

"All Ministers likewise shall observe the orders, rites and ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, as well in reading the Holy Scriptures and saying of Prayers, as in administration of the Sacraments without either diminishing in regard of preaching or in any other respect, or *adding anything in the matter or form thereof.*"

Statutes which declare the Church of England to be the Protestant Reformed Religion established by Law.

13 & 14 Car. II., c. 4. 29 Car. II., c. 9. 1 W. & M., c. 18. 5 Anne, c. 5. 7 Anne, c. 5. 7 Anne, c. 8 (Union with Scotland). 13 Geo. II., c. 7. 39 & 40 Geo. III., c. 67 (Union with Ireland). 9 Geo. IV., c. 27. 10 Geo. IV., c. 7 (Roman Catholic *Relief* Acts).

To be obtained at the Office of the Church Association, 14, Buckingham Street, Strand, London. By Subscribers, for distribution, free. By others at the price of 8*d* per dozen, or 4*s* 6*d* per 100.

4th Thousand.

RITUALISM GROWS; WHAT NEXT, AND NEXT?

"Romanism inside" (I prefer this title to "Ritualism") grows, not intensively—that is an impossibility, for all the distinctive doctrines of Rome, the two articles of the Creed of Pope Pius IX., dating from 1854 and 1870 respectively, as well as the twelve articles of the Creed of Pope Pius IV., dating from 1564, have been held and secretly taught in the Church of England for many years by not a few.

All these things have been held for years by nominal Churchmen; *e.g.*, I have in my possession a book presented to a young man by a clergyman in the Church of England as long ago as 1869, in which is taught the rankest, grossest Popery of—

(*a*) *The Mass* ("Litany of Reparation to the Sacred Host").

(*b*) *Relics* ("Procession and Veneration of Relics," in which occurs a Rubric:—"After the Te Deum the officiant and his ministers should proceed to the chancel gates, and there hold the inner relic-case to be kissed by the faithful, wiping the glass after each osculation with a piece of cotton wool").

(*c*) *Mary Worship* ("The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary," in which occurs a Rubric:—"Saturday being dedicated to Our Lady, it is well to make a practice of offering a Rosary, or part thereof, weekly on that day;" and another, "The minister will proceed to the *Lady Altar*").

The following is a part of this Rosary, p. 57—

IV. The Assumption of Our Lady.

V. The Coronation of Our Lady.

And on these two of Rome's lies are grounded prayers to Jesus, interspersed with the shocking prayer called the "Salve Regina" (p. 59).

> "Hail, holy Queen, Mother of Mercy!
> Our life, our sweetness, and our hope, all hail;
> To thee we cry, poor banished sons of Eve,
> To thee we sigh, weeping and mourning in this vale of tears.
> Therefore, O our Advocate,
> Turn thou on us those merciful eyes of thine;
> And, after this our exile, show us
> The blessed fruit of thy womb, Jesus,
> O merciful, O kind, O sweet Virgin Mary."

This book is entitled Oratory Worship; it is edited by Brother Cecil, S.S.J. (permissu Superiorum); it is published by the Church Press Company, 13, Burleigh Street, Strand. It teaches also the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. And it is some years ago now since a clergyman in his confessional box, after having received the confession of another clergyman, and, sitting as God in the tribunal of penance, having giving absolution, instructed his penitent, by way of "direction" in the spiritual life, to "keep a steady gaze on 'the Immaculate Conception.'"

Also it is some years now since a clergyman declared that

"the Bishop of Rome is the appointed, divine, infallible teacher of the Church."

But "Romanism inside" is growing extensively; is growing in boldness, defiance, and arrogance; as Mr. Beresford Hope said at the recent Portsmouth (so-called) Church Congress, "We can do many things now which we could not twenty years ago," and accordingly promised us that a crucifix would be set up ere long in St. Paul's Cathedral. Corpus Christi processions and adoration of the wafer are common and public; youths of both sexes are exhorted to come to confession, and to conceal their so doing from their parents, by men whom bishops delight to honour and to promote; men, who are not looked upon as extreme men at all, openly teach their congregations not to study the Holy Scriptures, and bishops, even men who are regarded as sceptical, openly conduct in parish churches services which are illegal and Roman. Now comes the question, "What next, and next?" I am no prophet either as to the near or more remote future, and so I will answer the question by stating what, in my opinion, (I.) *may* be, and (II.) what, in my opinion, *ought* to be, next and next.

I. What *may* be:—

(i.) A return to *image worship* in a large number of our churches may be the next after the immediate next of setting up the crucifix in the Cathedral of London: a return to the worship of images of the Virgin Mary may be the next to that; even now some bow their heads in public worship at the mention of the Virgin's name. The Roman Missal and the Roman Breviary may be reintroduced and used either side by side with, or to the complete exclusion of, "The Book of Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England"; indeed, the S.P.C.K. has stated, per Dr. Littledale, that "the creed of Rome embodied in the Missal and Breviary is, in the main, the old belief of Christendom." (*"Plain Reasons against Joining the Church of Rome,"* § LXXXVII.) All this, and more of the same kind, may be next and next.

(ii.) A revision of the Prayer Book may be next or next to it; not a revision on the lines of the Prayer Book Revision Society, nor even on the lines of the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. A scheme has already been propounded; it will suffice to give you some idea of it if I give you just one item; "Let us pray for the whole State of Christ's Church" is to be substituted for "Let us pray for the whole State of Christ's Church militant here in earth;" and you know what such a change would involve, a complete return to prayers for the dead. Even now a bishop dies, and a mass is said for the repose of his soul; a canon dies, and there is the same illegal Popery in the Cathedral; a viscount dies, and his son, the President of the E.C.U., shows his anxiety for the rest of the soul of the deceased nobleman in the same unscriptural manner.

(iii.) The removal of the Thirty-nine Articles may be among the next things. As it is, too many subscribe to them, though they do not believe them, and never intend to teach the Gospel truth

of which they are full, but do intend to teach the Popish error against which they protest. Some years ago Dr. Littledale described them as "obsolescent."

(iv.) There may be a practical abolition of the Royal Supremacy over all persons Ecclesiastical, and in all causes Ecclesiastical; at all events this would be brought about if the recommendations of the Commission packed by the ex-Premier were adopted and formulated into law, and which would have been adopted and made the law of the land but for the vigilance and learning of the Council of this hated Church Association, and I hope it may be next that we shall watch and examine that Bill which, it is said, his Grace of Canterbury has in preparation for the first session of the next Parliament, and I am sure it will be next that if that Bill, openly or insidiously, infringes this Royal Supremacy, our Council and its constituents will expose its treachery, and, with the good hand of our God upon us, prevent its becoming law.

(v.) Among the next things may be the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of England; the bishops and political churchmen may receive a rude awakening; they seem not to be at all sensible of the immoral position of the Church of England at this moment; they forget that it is "the Protestant Reformed Religion" that is "established by law" (Coronation Oath); then, if the religion of the Church of England is not the Protestant Reformed Religion, that Church holds her position, her prestige, and her endowments under false pretences. Theoretically, she is as Protestant as she ever was; but, practically, what is she? Some thousands of her clergy—at least one-third—are taking advantage of the position, prestige, and emoluments which this theoretically Protestant Church gives them, and in violation of their ordination vows, are Romanizing the nation far more effectually than Rome's professed ministers can possibly do it. May it not be that the nation will resent the imposture? May it not be that the Head of the Church will, in righteous retribution, remove from the Church of England that establishment and that endowment which are being now perverted by so many?

(vi.) Among the next things there may be a rapid increase of infidelity; when men are taught to believe what their reason and senses rebel against, most of them go into the opposite extreme. "Rome" has been the greatest manufacturer of infidels the world has ever seen, and if our Church imitate Rome in her teaching, similar results may accrue. In sad illustration of this are the words of the Bishop of Gloucester, spoken as recently as Monday last (October 26th, 1885). He lamented the growing unbelief in the Atonement, and this is what may be expected from the too prevalent teaching that in the Lord's Supper is offered a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead; he lamented also the growing unbelief in the Incarnation, and this is what may be expected from the growing cultus of the Virgin Mary, and from the too prevalent teaching that, by virtue of consecration, the true human body of Jesus is locally the bread, and the true human blood of Jesus is locally in wine.

(vii.) There may be next an increase of impurity: Liguori, Rome's highest authority, speaks of the vast numbers of priests who with their female penitents had gone to hell through the confessional; and may we not have similar results if in our Church the same system prevail? And the plague has begun: ask Bishop Harold Browne what he knows, ask other bishops what they know, and I imagine the information will appal you.*

(viii.) There may be next an increase of "Boycotting." The plague has begun: Protestant persons and Protestant newspapers are boycotted.

(ix.) There may be next a large curtailment of the Freedom of the Press. The plague has begun.

(x.) And there may be next a large curtailment of Freedom of Speech. The plague has begun.

Mr. Inglis, the President of the (so-called) C.E.W.M.S., stated recently that the members of that Society go to tell others what the Lord has done for their souls. But a meeting for instruction in Church of England truth cannot be held in some parts of London, for the lecturer would be assaulted, the heads of members of the audience would be broken, other methods would be used to prevent truth from being heard, and the meeting broken up. Mr. Inglis knows, I have no doubt, whether this is one of the modes employed by any of his Society in telling others what great things the Lord has done for them spiritually. Freedom of speech is not so sacred in England as it was; and it may become less sacred still.

II. What, in my opinion, *ought* to be next, and next?

(i.) Both in the near and more remote future we ought to keep clear of any departure from the old lines of Gospel truth and Protestant testimony. The counsels of the Council in London, and the counsels of the branches both in London and the provinces, should be firm on this point. By any such departure, wittingly or unwittingly, designedly or undesignedly, the Church of England is being betrayed into the hands of her enemies.

(ii.) Both in the near and more remote future we ought to work with a compact and united force. None of us, because our views of the situation and of the proper line of action may not be adopted, ought to take offence. The Council can learn the views of *all* the branches, we can learn only the views of our own. We cannot act as does the E.C.U. Its President, taking into his confidence one or two, not many more, of its committee, issues a manifesto, and all obey; but we can elect a Council that is to be trusted, and having elected it, we can trust it, and heartily support it.

(iii.) There ought to be a distinctive Protestant party in

* In *The Times* of May 12th, 1873, Bishop Harold Browne is reported to have said in the Upper House of Convocation, that he "was sorry to say that he was cognizant of things which he would only describe in general terms as most grievous results, from young women having chosen young men as confessors."

Rev. S. Odom, Vicar of St. Simon's, Sheffield, mentions this, I am glad to see, in his useful little work, "The Church of England." (IX. Confession and Absolution.)—J. W. J.

Parliament, with an acknowledged leader. It is not necessary that it should be a large party, but even a very small party would be of great assistance to the Protestant cause. The late Fourth Party affords us an illustration that fewness is not always incompatible with influence. So in the next General Election and in the next, it appears to me that in every constituency members of our Association should find out which of the candidates is the best Protestant, and vote for that candidate, and vote "solid."

(iv.) We ought to see in the very near future some one or more of Protestant bishops—by which I mean bishops who will stand forward and not be ashamed to admit publicly that they are aware that they are chief Pastors of a Church whose religion is Protestant, and that they will bravely discharge the consequent responsibilities and duties, let it cost them what it will. But of the present occupants of the various Sees, who are they who will be found equal to the emergency? The English Church Union, by its President, last spring openly pleaded for corporate union of the English Church with Rome, describing the latter as defender of the Truth, and referring to the Reformation as the sins of the sixteenth century. Not one of the bishops has opened his mouth, so far as I am aware, to utter one word in opposition to this. They have been equally supine, or acquiescent, with regard to Canon Liddon's sermon, which was a perversion of the text he preached from, and equally untrue in its history. Has it come to this—that the condition of the Church of England in the matter of her bishops is as bad as, or worse than, it was in the days when Montague was Bishop of Chichester, who informed the Pope's emissary, Panzani, that all the bishops were ready to join the Church of England to Rome with three exceptions—Hall of Exeter (author of "Pax nulla cum Româ"), Davenant of Salisbury, and Morton of Durham? "The only three bishops that could be counted violently bent against the Church of Rome," as Montague described them. These three men were Protestant bishops, and were not ashamed of it. Are there three such men now? I trow not, if I may be allowed to make an inference from their utterances and actions and silence and inaction. The Archbishop of York might have taken his stand once as a Protestant Archbishop, and perhaps it is not too late. Will he? There is one other about whom there may be some hope. He once wrote as follows concerning the Vestment dispute between Hooper on the one side and Cranmer and Ridley on the other:—

It is my deliberate conviction, after carefully weighing the whole affair, that Hooper was most in the right, and that Cranmer and Ridley were most in the wrong. I believe the plain truth to be that Hooper was much more far-sighted than his excellent fellow-labourers. He looked further ahead than they did, and saw the possibility of evils arising in the Church of England, of which they in their charity never dreamed. He foresaw with prophetic eye the immense peril of having nest-eggs for future Romanism within our pale. He foresaw a time when the Pope's friends would take

advantage of the last crevice left in the walls of our Zion, and he would fain have had every crack stopped up. He would not have left a single peg on which Romanizing Churchmen could have re-hung the abominable doctrine of the Mass. It is my decided opinion that he was quite right. Events have supplied abundant proof that his conscientious scruples were well founded. I believe if Cranmer and Ridley had closely listened to his objections, and seized the opportunity of settling the whole question of "vestments" in a thoroughly Protestant way, it would have been a blessing to the Church of England. In a word, if Hooper's views had been allowed to prevail, one-half of the Ritualistic controversy would never have existed at all.

The writer of the above was Bishop Ryle in his "Bishops and Clergy of other days." (pp. 25-26.)

Will he now show the far-sightedness which in Hooper he eulogized? I know it is a delicate question to ask; but the times must be my excuse. I know the answer that may be given: a bishop is bishop of a church and not the bisbop of a party. I do not want a bishop of a party. I want a bishop of the Church of England, and a bishop of "the Protestant Reformed Religion established by Law" can only be a Protestant bishop. The Popish bishops in our Protestant Church are, if you will, party bishops; they bestow their smiles and favours on that party which is a traitorous party within the Protestant Church. Again I ask, in full and grateful remembrance of his splendid services in the past, will the Bishop of Liverpool come forward and take his proper position as a leader of the faithful sons of the Protestant Church of England.

(v.) "Cease Ye from Man."—It is the bounden duty of all the servants of God to "cease from man" at all times and under all circumstances, and I cannot but think that our God is now, and has been for some considerable time past, scourging us into a deeper and fuller realization of the necessity of our "not putting our trust in any son of man," but of fixing, persistently fixing our hope in Jehovah, our God, and of looking, steadfastly looking, for help to the God of Jacob. Are we to put our trust in princes? God has not given us much encouragement in that direction; for while we thankfully acknowledge that the Queen has occasionally exerted a beneficial influence in Crown appointments to offices in the Church of England, yet truth demands that we say, though with regret we say it, that she does not seem to us to exert that authority which, constitutionally, she might as being "over all persons, and in all causes, *ecclesiastical* as well as civil, within her dominions Supreme," and which, religiously, she ought, as bound by her coronation oath, "to the utmost of her power to maintain the Laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by Law." Had she done so, such an appointment as the mitre-wearing, Massing prelate of the See of Lincoln, and other similar appointments, would not have been perpetrated, and if in the government of Him who is "King of Kings," our Sovereign Lady, Queen Victoria, should be taken from us (*long* may she reign!) before the Heir Apparent, there is, and I say it with deep regret, still less encouragement to put

our trust in princes. There will be, unless a change comes, a power behind the throne which will be put forth entirely in the direction of unprotestantizing the Established Church, if it be not disestablished before that time.

Are we disposed to put our trust in Prime Ministers? The Church of England has suffered enough at the hands of the late Premier; and the present Premier has done as much, according to his opportunities, to Romanize our Church as his predecessor. Mr. Gladstone and the Marquis of Salisbury are, from the standpoint of true Churchmen, "Arcades ambo." Whichever, therefore, of them will be returned to power, is to us, as Churchmen, a matter of no great moment; we will cease from Prime Ministers.

Are we disposed to put our trust in either party in the State? I, as a Churchman, that is, as a Protestant, have no confidence in Tory or Radical; neither party seems to care to conserve the Constitution, which is fundamentally Protestant; and so I, as a Conservative, lament the unpatriotism and the revolutionary tendencies of both parties. I am being taught more and more that I must cease from politicians.

Are we to put confidence in our bishops? We have long experienced the vanity of so doing, and we are experiencing it still. We do not by any means estimate them all alike, but the fact is that some are open breakers of the law of the Church in which they are chief Pastors; some of them hold and teach distinctive Roman doctrine; nearly all are favourable to English Church Union clergy, and are still more unfavourable to clergy who hold and teach all the doctrines which at their ordination they declared they held and vowed they would teach; the law-breaking clergy most of them shield, the true clergy of the Church of England they discountenance; an Establishment which shall hold ministers and people of all sorts of creeds (with the exception, perhaps, of the distinctive creed of the Church of England) is their fetish. By these and similar things surely God is bringing home to us the duty, "Cease ye from" such.

Are we to put confidence in the (so-called) Evangelical clergy and laity? I cannot think so. Most of the former have failed in the testing times through which we are passing. They have made their peace with the Roman party, they are helping that party; they prefer to work with the clergy of that party to working with the true Church clergy; they have little but good words to say of the Romanizers, and little but hard words of those who keep to the old paths of the Protestant Reformed Religion established in our country. Nay, many of those who were once regarded as our standard-bearers have cast away the banner which they held aloft, and amidst the sorrow of former more doughty colleagues and the contempt of their new allies, are clutching another flag; but it bears not the legend of the old flag, "the *truth*, the *whole* truth, and *nothing but* the truth of the Gospel." It is emblazoned with the inscription, "Compromise: truth and error." And many of the (so-called) Evangelical

laity have caught the infection, while others, though they cease not to hold and believe the old truths, for some cause or other, apathy or what not, make not one effort to stem the tide of Roman error in the Church of England. To my mind, God is drilling us in the lesson "Cease ye from" such.

Are we to rely on (so-called) Protestant Dissenters for help? A broken reed, surely! They, in the main, are now political. Which portion, in the Church of England, do they prefer? Which portion do they help? The Romanizing portion; because they expect through its progress to secure the disendowment of the Church. Which portion do they oppose? The Protestant portion; because they know that the Protestantism of the Church is the measure of its stability. "Cease ye from" such.

Are we to place confidence in ourselves? Another broken reed! We have been permitted to prove to the nation that the Church of the nation is strictly Protestant and anti-Roman; we have been permitted to demonstrate that the Protestant Churchman is the only true Churchman; we have been permitted to show that the whole of the (so-called) Ritualistic party are not Church of England men, but dissenters neither more nor less; and for this end our organization has been necessary (and I believe that it would be a misfortune for England if our organization were to cease), but notwithstanding all that, we are being taught by our God to "cease from" ourselves. And by His grace we will. We will trust more and more to Him for the help needed; we will take the affairs of our Association oftener and oftener into the presence of our God; each individual member of our institution ought to, and by divine grace he will, spread, in prayer, before the Lord, frequently and more frequently still, the spiritual troubles of our Church and land; and, while not neglecting any lawful means, remember that they are only means, and not the end; that persons, and organizations, and means may fail us; that the One who never fails is He who has declared, "Call upon me in the day of trouble; I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me." (Ps. l.-15.)

(vi.) Lastly; I suppose that there is not one of us who would not gladly give up the turmoil, the strife, the conflict, the struggle, the anxiety of all this controversy. But that we may not do; God has laid it upon us, and we must go through with it. But it ought to have, and by Divine Grace will have, the effect of a growth of personal religion in each of us—a realizing more to-day than yesterday, more to-morrow than to-day, more in the next than now, more in the next after than the next before, the realizing with an ever-depeening power the love of a personal Saviour for each of us personal sinners. It was in his most controversial Epistle that the Apostle Paul expressed himself as realizing in his soul the blessing of his own personal redemption by a personal Saviour: "The life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved *me* and gave himself for *me*." (Gal. ii.-20.) By His grace that experience is, and will increasingly be, the experience of every one of us who fights in and for Christ with a single eye to His glory.

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11th Thousand.

No. LXXXVI.]

1686 AND 1886.

SPEECH

DELIVERED AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CHURCH ASSOCIATION,

IN

EXETER HALL, on MAY 14th, 1886,

BY

LORD ROBERT MONTAGU.

THE CHAIRMAN, who was received with applause, said:—Ladies and gentlemen, I trust you will allow me to thank you, as I do most heartily, for the honour you have conferred upon me in allowing me to take the chair at this, your twenty-first Annual Meeting. If I understand it aright, the very centre of your work is this: to defend the Protestantism of the country, both in Church and State. I consider it a very great honour to be allowed to co-operate, however slightly, with that useful work. "Useful work?"—let me not use that term; I say it is a most *necessary* work in this time of great peril. You all know the peril, but perhaps some of us do not measure it to the extent which really belongs to it, for there is a very great peril. When you come to ask yourselves what is the cause of that peril, I will tell you. I will use the words of Mr. Maden Holt, in that letter we have just heard,—it is the apathy of Protestants. (Cheers.) You cannot get them to believe the power of the never-ceasing, restless and great political organization, called the Roman Catholic Church (hear, hear) for it is a *political* Association. (Hear, hear.) And if you go further and speak about the intrigues of Jesuits, why, people shrug their shoulders and laugh. They will not believe that; they will not believe that Jesuits are every day intriguing in this country, just as they did centuries ago. And why is that? Because the people have

been taught to believe that the Jesuits are a sort of extinct species like the dodos of Australia. (Laughter.) But that is not the case. If even you tell them your own experience of it, and that you know for a fact that there is all this interference in families and in States, still they will not believe that experience when you state it. The fact is, nobody in these days *learns* by experience—neither by his own experience nor by the experience of history. Let me give you an example. Two hundred and thirty-five years ago Cromwell saved this country from the insidious intrigues of Charles I. and Archbishop Laud. He saved Ireland from the cruel domination and tyranny of the Roman Catholic priests; and yet in less than thirty-five years after there were numbers of persons going about the country laughing at the very idea of intrigues by Roman Catholic priests, and interference by Jesuits. It was a thing scoffed at and not believed. That was a great crisis in our history. In 1686 the people were laughing at the idea of the intrigues of the Jesuits; yet at that very time—exactly two hundred years ago—Tyrconnel, whom Lord Macaulay has taught you to know as "Lying Dick Talbot," plotted with Jesuits and with King James II. to overturn the Protestant Constitution in Church and State, and to carry out a conspiracy to separate Ireland from England, and put it under the protection of Louis XIV. There was a Frenchman sixty years ago—Armand Carrel—who went to the Louvre, and found there the original documents referring to that particular period; and if those documents have been burnt since at the Louvre, there are copies at the Hague. From those documents he found out the whole conspiracy, and published it. When I read the book I was astounded, and turned back often and often to the title-page to make sure I was not reading *The Times*' account of what happens in Ireland at the present day. (Hear, hear.) Now, what was that conspiracy? I will give the heads of it in short. First, to weaken, and if possible extinguish, the Protestant Church in Ireland; secondly, to worry out the Protestant landlords by degrees, expel them from Ireland, and hand over their estates to Roman Catholic tenants; thirdly, to put education in Ireland in the hands of the Jesuits; fourthly, to substitute for the written law of the land the unwritten law of the agitators, or rather the Canon Law of Rome (hear, hear); and fifthly, to separate Ireland from England and put it under the protection of Louis XIV. While that conspiracy was going on in Ireland, carried on by Tyrconnel and James II., a similar conspiracy went on in England. If you want to know more about it, you can read it in a little book called "Rome's Tactics," by the late Dean Goode, of Ripon. There you will see first, that Jesuits were clergy *in* the Church of

England, and were endeavouring to Romanize the Church of England, by introducing Ritualistic practices; secondly, that Jesuits were to mix with Nonconformists and all the different Protestant communities to sow dissension between Protestants, and to weaken them; thirdly, an endeavour to extinguish the liberties of Parliament, which James II. did by refusing to call Parliament together, and insisting on receiving supplies without the consent of the representatives of the nation, the object being to get rid of representative Government. The scheme that I have been describing is exactly two centuries old this very year. Now, I ask you to come down just two centuries in the stream of time, and I ask you—what you all know—Has not the Church of Ireland been weakened? And when it was weakened by the Church Bill were not those who supported that Bill, the priests of Ireland? Then as to the second point—How about the Protestant landlords in Ireland? Have they not been worried out; have not their rents been reduced; and is there not now a scheme on foot to get rid of them altogether, and leave the whole of Ireland in the hands of Roman Catholic tenants? (Hear, hear.) As to the third point—education—a very few years ago a resolution was promulgated by the Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland putting the care of education into the hands of the Jesuits, and leaving it to Mr. Parnell and his party to supervise it. As to the next point—the substitution of another law for the written law of Ireland—I ask you whether you have not read of places in Ireland where the Queen's writ does not run, and where the Queen's law is not observed, but where the law of the National League is observed, and where the priests of the parishes are the judges that preside over the courts that carry out the law of the League? Then as to the separation of Ireland from England. Why, Moses has "come down from the mount" (not Mount Sinai, but Mount Ebal) with two tables of the law; and one of them is to separate Ireland from England (and the Irish Government Bill does more, it extinguishes the omnipotence of Parliament), and the other table of the law which he carries is to get rid of the Protestant landlords. (Cheers and laughter.) Now I will prophesy of the tables of the law brought down from Mount Ebal that *they will be broken.* (Loud applause.) So much for the five points about Ireland. Now let us go to the three points about England, because the similarity is exactly carried out—in regard to Ritualism. A certain Jesuit has often said to me (I must confess that in former days I was misled, though honestly, to take the fatal step of joining the Roman Catholic Church, but I thank God that he opened my eyes and enabled me to leave it)—a certain Jesuit has often said to me, "Ritualism is the net by

which we shall catch the Church of England." I cannot afford the time to give you many instances, but I will give you one. It is a little pamphlet, which will cost you a penny if you like to buy it, and it is published by Shaw, of Paternoster Row. It is called "National Idolatry," and is written by Mr. Robert Brown, who is very well known. You will there learn what occurred to a doctor who attended a lady on her death-bed. Before her death, God opened her eyes, and she made confession to the doctor that she was not only a Roman Catholic but a Jesuit; and "then she told him that *while in the Church of England* she had become affiliated to the Jesuits, and that she had taken the Jesuits' oath over the communion table at the hands of the Protestant rector of the parish, who was himself a Jesuit in secret correspondence with Rome. (Cries of "Shame.") That is one fact out of a great number that might be adduced. Now for the second point in the conspiracy against England, namely, Jesuits in the Protestant bodies. What is the object? To set Nonconformists against the Church, and the Church against Nonconformists; the Free Church against the Established Presbyterian Church, and so on. I ask you whether that sort of thing does not go on in these days. (Hear, hear.) We have all a common Protestantism, and we might all unite on that one basis—Protestantism. (Hear, hear.) Then we should be strong; then we should be happy, and be able to defend ourselves; for minor points do not matter, particularly in this time of great peril. That would not suit the Jesuits. (Hear, hear.) The third point in the English conspiracy was the destruction of representative institutions. What have we seen? Wondrous scenes in the House of Commons: all-night sittings; disgraces heaped upon representative government; obstruction night after night, and day after day. With what object was that done? I will tell you. If you look accurately into the records given in the daily papers, you will come to this conclusion (because you will see every other possible solution excluded), that all this obstruction is carried on as a conspiracy to discredit representative institutions. (Hear, hear.) When once the liberties of Parliament are extinguished; when once the Speaker, or the Prime Minister, has the power virtually through the clôture, to impose laws on this kingdom, you will see the Act of Settlement repealed, and you will see every safeguard against Popery swept away, and then you will have time to repent, but not to resist. (Cheers.) Now the opposite thing to all this has been occurring in Italy. They have long felt the tyranny of Romanism, and they have been trying to escape from it. There is a "Roman question," and the people have said of the Roman question "solvitur ambulando," which means that it will be solved by the Pope running away (cheers); and if

he runs away (and Mr. Gladstone succeeds in his Bills), the Pope will come to Ireland, and there he will reign on your flanks; that would be a nice consummation! (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Well, you will say to me, "you have told us of a conspiracy, and you have gone into history, and you have mentioned the conspiracy between Tyrconnel and James II., and you have certainly shown us a most marvellous similarity between what happened then and what is being carried on in our own days; but you have not shown that the Pope has anything to do with it." Very well; now I will give you three links in the chain. These are the three links:—The Pope, Michael Davitt, and William Ewart Gladstone. (Cheers.) You know that Davitt was the mainspring of this agitation in Ireland; Mr. Parnell, a very nice gentleman and a cool man, is the figure-head, but Mr. Davitt is the mainspring. Mr. Davitt has gone about making speeches, and he has a considerable amount of brains. You know he had a reception by the Roman Catholic "Archbishop" Croke. Mr. Davitt went to Thurles, and "Archbishop" Croke sent down his coach, and Mr. Davitt rode in state to the Archiepiscopal Palace, and the greatest honours were paid to him; and "Archbishop" Croke held up Davitt as the hero of Ireland. He is only an "Archbishop," it is true. (Laughter.) But let us see what the Pope did. Last year, on the 8th of February, Mr. Davitt was in Rome, and there was a requiem mass for Pope Pius IX. (for though he was a Saint his soul is yet in purgatory, and to get it out they have a requeim mass yearly in the Sistine Chapel). Mr. Davitt was invited to attend—a wonderful honour because it is very difficult to get a ticket to go there. And not only was Mr. Davitt put in the place of honour, but a chamberlain was set to attend upon him, and he had every attention, as if he were a Royal Sovereign. That is not all. The Pope had two newspapers in Rome, and has still one—the *Moniteur de Rome*—and that paper had an article on October 14, 1882, headed "Mr. Davitt and Mr. Gladstone." They were coupled together like Siamese twins. (Laughter.) After heaping encomiums on Davitt, "the chief of the Land League," it continued: "We are the last to ignore the incomparable benefits and generous initiatives of the eminent man who presides over the political destines of England (meaning Mr. Davitt.) We are the last, having rendered homage to his persistent activity, and to his claims to the gratitude and honours which are due to him. Mr. Gladstone also has served the cause of humanity . . . . Mr. Gladstone has pursued, throughout his whole political existence, the partial liberation of the Irish people. . . . . Yet the initiative of Mr. Gladstone is, so far, but a first essay (this was written in 1882). A greater, a more extended work is in store,—a work which will crown his laborious

and reckless life, and the glory of it will overbear all cavil. For all that, we firmly believe that all Gladstone's legislative efforts would have been doomed to futility, had it not been that the Church of Rome caused his prolific and healthful influence to affect men's hearts and minds. . . . The Papacy impressed its seal on that legislator's political labours." Now, mark, that this article in the Pope's paper was written in 1882. It says that Mr. Gladstone has "a greater work in store—a work which will crown his laborious and restless life, and the glory of it will overbear all cavil." The Pope, of course, alluded then to this Home Rule scheme. The article goes on to say that "all Mr. Gladstone's legislative efforts would have been doomed to futility had it not been that the Church of Rome caused his prolific and healthy influence to affect men's hearts and minds." Does not that show a connection between the Pope and Mr. Gladstone? But there is another very curious fact. You will remember the Phœnix Park murders on the 6th of May. On the 7th of May what happened? Mr. Davitt went to Mr. Gladstone's house in the dead of night. I believe it was midnight, when ghosts generally walk, though Mr. Davitt is no ghost. (Laughter.) He went there at midnight, and conversed with Mr. Gladstone for some hours, it is stated, then he set off for Paris to Mr. Patrick Egan, the Secretary of the Land League, and the succeeding day there appeared in M. Rochefort's paper a statement that on the highest authority from his Irish friends, he was able to say that Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke had been murdered *by the landlords* of Ireland! There was the last link in the chain. (Hear, hear.) But we will pass from that, and consider *the means* that are used. You know the means that have been used in Ireland, and in England too—I mean murders in Ireland, and in England the explosions of dynamite, and so on. Well, what does the Pope's newspaper say upon that? I must remind you that in this country the opinion you find in a newspaper is the opinion of the editor; but it is not so in Rome. In the Pope's newspaper nothing is published but what accords with the view of the Pope. He gives orders, and they write up to those orders. That remark applies also to the article I read to you about Mr. Davitt and Mr. Gladstone. Referring to the explosions and the murders then occurring, the Pope's newspaper, on April 20, 1883, said these were the "minor details of a gigantic action which will burst out everywhere at once, *at an appointed day and hour.*" That is nice news for the people of England to come from His Holiness the Pope! (Laughter.) But there is something more. You remember the trial of O'Donnell for the murder of the informer Carey. The Pope's newspaper of the 7th December, 1883, asked its friends in England and Ireland to furnish the names and addresses and

biographical notices of all the jury who had convicted O'Donnell, because it wanted to be prepared to write their obituary notices, doubtless knowing that they were to be killed for giving a true verdict. So much for the means. Now what is the end in view? This end is stated in a publication ("*Catholic Progress*") edited by a Jesuit named Albany Christy, a learned man and a nice gentleman. These were the views expressed on June 2, 1882:—"The woes of Ireland are all due to one simple cause—the existence of Protestantism in Ireland. The remedy can only be found in the removal of that which caused the evil, which still continues it. Why were the Irish not content? Because, being Irish and Catholics, they are governed by a public opinion which is English and Protestant. Unless Ireland is governed as a Catholic nation, and full scope given to the development of the Catholic Church in Ireland by appropriating to the Catholic religion, funds given to religion, a recurrence of such events (as the murder of Lord F. Cavendish and Mr. Burke), as are now taking place, cannot be prevented. Would that every Protestant meeting-house were swept from the land. . . . Then would Ireland recover herself and outrages be unknown." That was in 1882. But let me quote you a passage from the Pope's newspaper of January 25, 1886, this year, on the Queen's speech which had just been read in England:—"We are disgusted at the opposition evinced in that speech to the dismemberment of the Empire, and we yearn to see Protestantism extirpated from Ireland." Now there is very little doubt about the effect which the passing of the Home Rule Bill would have. (Hear, hear.) I feel sure that Mr. Gladstone is a very clever man and that he knows well what he is doing (applause and laughter) by the Bills he has brought in. But the conspiracy failed two hundred years ago nearly. It failed in 1688. (Cheers.) Now, perhaps, before 1888 comes we shall see a like failure in this case. (Hear, hear.) Balaam has certainly been sent by Balak to curse Protestant England. Balaam rode a patient ass, but the ass kicked up its heels and refused to proceed. (Laughter.) And Balaam said, "would that I had a sword in my hand for now I would kill thee;" or rather the words he used were, "I will appeal from all enlightened Liberals to the ignorant masses." (Cheers and loud laughter.) Then the mouth of the poor suffering and tyrannized ass was opened; and he has at last spoken some very wholesome words of rebuke. (Cheers.) But the Liberal party must not be satisfied with *speaking* the truth. Do you remember the remark of M. Taine? He said that before the French Revolution in 1790 there were not more than three hundred Jacobins amongst the twenty-six millions in France, but

those three hundred Jacobins by their energetic action carried all before them. Therefore we must not be apathetic. (Cheers.) We must allow all Protestants to unite on their common Protestantism. Churchmen should not oppose Nonconformists, nor Nonconformists Churchmen; but all must unite and stand firm—(Cheers)—and above all bear in mind the solemn words of Sir Robert Peel, who said, "*The day is not far distant, and it may be very near, when we shall all have to* FIGHT THE BATTLE OF THE REFORMATION OVER AGAIN." (Cheers.)

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7th Thousand.]

"HEARING MASS"

versus

"THE LORD'S SUPPER OR HOLY COMMUNION."

DOES THE PRAYER BOOK RECOGNIZE NON-COMMUNICATING ATTENDANCE?

Before the Reformation the evil habit of non-communicating attendance was universal, and so far from leading to increased frequency of Communions (as its advocates now contend) it had almost abolished Holy Communion altogether so far as regards the laity. The Devon Rebels demanded (June, 1549) "We will have the Mass in Latin, as was before, and celebrated by the priest, without any man or woman communicating with him. We will have the Sacrament but at Easter delivered to the lay-people; and then but in one kind."[1] It is important to remember that these rebels were under the guidance of the clergy, and that Cardinal Pole wrote to the Protector on Sept. 7th, 1549, that he would "never fail endeavouring (if required and requested by them) by every effort and means in my power, that they be not abandoned and unassisted, provided they contain themselves within the limits of their *just and religious demands, as I see they have done hitherto.*"[2]

Nor was this state of things peculiar to England. Even Mr. Blunt, in his "Annotated Prayer Book," p. 150, admits that in the Middle Ages, "while the Mass was offered daily in most, if not in all, churches, and in some many times in the day, few except the clergy ever partook of it more than once or twice

[1] Cranmer's Works, Parker Soc. ii.-173. [2] Venetian State Papers, p. 265.

in the year, considering that it was sufficient for them to be present while it was being offered." Fleury, the Roman Catholic historian, in his "Eighth Discourse," after noticing the injury done to Christian morals by the abuse of absolutions, proceeds:

"I will add, moreover, that the new devotions introduced by certain 'religious' have concurred to the same result of diminishing the horror of sin, and causing men to neglect the correction of their manners. One can carry a scapulary, say every day a string of beads, or some famous orison, without pardoning one's enemy, restoring goods ill-acquired, or leaving one's concubine. These are the devotions which the people love, these which do not compel them to become better. In practicing these *petites devotions*, they don't cease to regard themselves as better than those who do not practice them, and to flatter themselves that they will bring them a good death: for one does not wish to be converted while one is young, or enjoys health—that would cost too much. *Hence also comes that exterior devotion to the Holy Sacrament. They love to adore it exposed, or to follow it in procession rather than to prepare worthily to receive it.*"

That is always the tendency of corrupt human nature; men seek to be saved *in* sin, flocking to the *sacrifice* which is supposed to propitiate God, but shrinking from *Communion, i.e.* fellowship with God. They seek to put Him off with ritual 'worship,' as though flattery were acceptable, and to obtain for themselves a visible 'similitude,' which may serve as a carnal and sensuous medium of approach, so much more easy to the natural man than the effort to worship in the spiritual part of his own nature that God who is Himself an invisible Spirit (John iv.-23). Hence that growing desire to bring back the "hearing of Mass" at "High Celebrations," which is the modern Ritualistic substitute for the "Supper of the Lord or Holy Communion." On the other hand, Mr. Pugin, in his "Treatise on Rood-screens" (p. 120) notes that "Communicants have greatly increased since the Middle Ages"—a fact which in all fairness ought to be credited to the Reformation.

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In weaning a nation saturated with superstitions which they had held in common with the rest of Western Christendom for centuries, the English Reformers began by restoring the cup to the laity, and by providing for increased frequency of Communions, while they abolished side altars, and then proceeded to substitute even for the one sole remaining altar an "honest table of joiner's work." These changes were followed rapidly by the abolition of the "Sacrificial position" and the

"Sacrificial vestments," and by the removal of the "Table," which had superseded the High Altar, into the body of the church at Communion time, thus gradually educating the minds of the common people out of the corrupt traditions of the Mass. Wisely, therefore, the point as to non-communicating attendance was left open for a time. In the first Prayer Book of Edward, at the Communion time, each person present was to go up into the Chancel and there drop his individual "oblation" into the poor men's box, which by the Royal Injunction of 1547, was placed at the side of the High Altar.[3] After this came the Rubric of 1549 :—

"*Then so many as shall be partakers of the Holy Communion shall tarry still in the quire, or in some convenient place nigh the quire, the men on the one side and the women on the other side. All other (that mind not to receive the said Holy Communion) shall depart out of the quire, except the ministers and clerks.*"

At that time the choir screen was a high erection with lofty doors, and in cathedrals often consisted of a stone wall which effectually screened the communicants from observation. It is true that the Exhortation before the Confession contained at that time the words "Make your humble confession to Almighty God, and *to His Holy Church* here gathered together in his name." But this of course did not imply that the communicants were to confess to the non-communicants; it was, in fact, merely the Protestant substitute for the accustomed form in the Sarum Missal, in which the Priest received absolution from the choir (*Ministri*) and which directed the confession to "God, the Blessed Mary, and all saints, *and to you*"—seeking thus to retain so much of the old form as was not actually unscriptural.

Bp. Ridley asked at his first Visitation, June 1550, "whether any tarrieth in the quire after the offertory, other than those that do communicate except clerks and ministers."[4] Writing to Bp. Hooper in November, 1550, Bucer said "Some reckon among the things which are left to the free ordering of the Churches, to celebrate the Lord's Supper only once, twice, thrice, four times, or oftener, in the year; and to stand at the Supper without participating of the sacraments. And yet it is evident that each of these [customs] is truly papistical."

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[3] Doc. Ann. i.-18.

[4] Foxe, Act and Mon. vi.-784.

This letter, by the way, was reprinted by Abp. Parker and the Elizabethan bishops in 1566—*cum privilegio*.[5]

The Greyfriars' Chronicle (p. 69) tells us — "Item, the XXIV. day of the same month after,[6] was the grates beside the high altar at Powle's closed up, that the people should not look in at the time of the Communion time, and the vail hanged up. And the XXVIII. day after was Easter even, and then was the Table removed, and set beneath at the vail north and south."

Wriothesley's Chronicle also mentions (p. 47) how Ridley, in 1551, "After the creed, caused the vaile to be drawen that no person should see but those that receaved, and he closed the iron gates of the quire on the north and south side that non might remain in the quire."

These precautions were coarsely ridiculed by the Papists. Thus Huggard in his "Displaying of Protestants" (1556), says of the movable Lord's table—"Then down it must come from *sursum* to *deorsum*. In some places beneath the steps, in the quire covering it round about with curtains for fear of bugs."

In May, 1551, Bp. Hooper gave to his clergy a series of articles, among which was this:

"XXVI. Item, that which is spoken of the Sacraments, that they were not instituted for a spectacle or wondering-stock, doth evidently prove that they ought not to be kept nor worshipped, or any other ways to be used than as Christ did institute them, who, speaking simply and plainly of baptism by these words, 'Do ye baptize'; said also, of the bread and wine, 'Take, eat, and drink you all'; of the which words we learn that as many as be present ought to communicate, or to *depart in the time of the Administration*."[7]

By this time the Reformers had got rid of the Romish Bishops who hindered the progress of the reformation. Bonner, Gardiner, Heath, and Day had been deprived for nonconformity, Reps had resigned, Voysey resigned in August, 1551, and Tunstal was deprived in October, 1551. Hence only two bishops, viz. Carlisle and Norwich, voted against the Second Prayer Book of Edward which fully embodied, for the first time, the views and aspirations of Cranmer and his colleagues. In that book the worshippers were no longer to go up into the Chancel to 'offer' at the box placed by the high altar, but the churchwardens were

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[5] Gorham's Ref. Gleanings, p. 206. [6] March, 1551.
[7] Later Writings, p. 125.

bidden to "*gather* the devotion of the people, and put the same into the poor men's box," and the following words were introduced into the Exhortation after the Prayer for the Church militant:

"Whereas ye offend God so sore in refusing this holy banquet, I admonish, exhort, and beseech you, that unto this unkindness ye will not add any more. Which thing ye shall do if ye stand by as gazers and lookers on them that do communicate, and be no partakers of the same yourselves. For what thing can this be accounted else, than a further contempt and unkindness unto God. Truly it is a great unthankfulness to say nay when ye be called: but the fault is much greater when men stand by, and yet will neither eat nor drink this Holy Communion with other. I pray you what can this be else, but even to have the mysteries of Christ in derision? It is said unto all: Take and eat. Take and drink ye all of this: do this in remembrance of Me. With what face then, or with what countenance shall ye hear these words? What will this be else but a neglecting, a despising, and mocking the Testament of Christ? Wherefore, rather than you should do so, *depart you hence and give place* to them that be godly disposed."

This language is described by the writer whom the Ritualists call "Bp. Cosin" (in his "first series of Notes") as "A religious invective added here against the lewd and irreligious custom of the people then nursed up in popery, to be present at the Communion, and to let the priest communicate for them all."[8]

On the accession of Elizabeth, Geste was consulted by Cecil, the Prime Minister, as to the Revision of Edward's Prayer Book. Geste defended the "dividing of the Communion into two parts," and explains "why the service is set forth in such sort as it is" by saying "they only did remain which did receive"—"for that they which did not receive were taken for that time as not faithful. Therefore Chrysostom saith, that they which do not receive, be as men doing penance for their sin."[9]

This explains the change introduced into the eighteenth Injunction of Elizabeth, 1559, which was framed out of the

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[8] Anglo-Cath. Library, Cosin's Works, v.-98.
[9] Card. Conf., p. 51, 54.

twenty-third Injunction of Edward VIth, 1547. We place them side by side for comparison.[10]

1547.	1559.
"And in the time of the Litany, *of the Mass*, of the sermon, and when the priest readeth the Scripture to the parishioners, no manner of persons, without a just and urgent cause, shall depart out of the church."	"And in the time of the Litany, *of the Common Prayer*, of the sermon, and when the priest readeth the Scripture to the parishioners, no manner of persons, without a just and urgent cause, shall use any walking in church, nor shall depart out of the church."[11]

Cranmer's chaplain published in 1560 his "Catechism on the Sacraments" and "Articles of Christian Religion," in both of which he denounces non-communicating attendance as a distinctively Popish corruption.[12]

In the Homilies published in 1562, we read "every one of us must be guests and not gazers, eaters and not lookers . . . of necessity we must be ourselves partakers of this table, and not beholders of others." Bp. Jewel, who was probably the writer of this "Homily of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament," in many parts of his "Apology' and 'Defence" defends the Church of England practice—"whoso will not receive, let him depart."[13]

In 1563, a Form of Thanksgiving for Deliverance from the Plague, was put forth by Royal Injunction, into which were introduced, as a confession of misuse of the Lord's Supper, the words "for many make of it a gazing stock, to serve their eyes and tongues:"[14] and a letter from Grindal, Bp. of London, to Abp. Parker explained his objection to having a celebration of Holy Communion at St. Paul's on this occasion. "If the Communion

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[10] Card. Doc. Ann. i.-15, 187.

[11] Canon 90, which orders the churchwardens to "see that all the parishioners duly resort to their church upon all Sundays and Holydays, and there continue the whole time of divine service" has no special reference to the celebration of the Holy Communion. This is shown, not only by canons 16 and 23, where the "Divine Service" is distinguished from the Communion, but by the order of Queen Elizabeth of Jan. 22, 1561, which speaks of churches where "Divine Service, *as* prayer, preaching and ministration of the sacraments be used;" as also by the rubric at morning prayer, which speaks of the Lord's Prayer "*here used in Divine Service.*"

All "common and open prayer" is "for other to come unto," and the public celebration cannot be legally conducted with locked doors, so that any person may quietly and decently enter or quit a church during any period of divine service. The Toleration Act extends this rule to non-established religious bodies. The attempt to coerce worshippers to "hear mass" by locking the door of the parish church during service time, should be resisted and punished in every instance.

[12] Becon's Works, ii.-257, iii.-481.

[13] Works, Parker Soc. i.-55, 116, iii.-472-5.

[14] Liturgical Services, Eliz., p. 505.

be ministered in Paul's, it will be done so tumultuously and gazingly, by means of the infinite multitude that will resort thither to see, that the rest of the action will be disordered."[15]

In 1564, at Canterbury Cathedral, which has a solid stone screen, "none were suffered to tarry within the chancel, but the communicants."[16]

In 1572, Abp. Whitgift, replying to Cartwright, says, "And the Book doth exhort those to depart which do not communicate, with a warning from whence they depart; so that you may well understand that the meaning of the Book is that all that be present should communicate."[17]

In 1583, Middleton, Bp. St. David's, gave as his seventh 'Injunction':

"Item, that when there is a Communion, that al the people whiche will not communicate beyng called thereunto, be commanded to depart for that tyme out of the church: after the general confession made, in the name of the communicantes, and if any be so stubborne that thei wil no departe, then the Minister to proceed no further in the Communion, but in the next Consistorie Courte, complaine of them, as interrupters and troublers of God's Divine Service."[18]

In 1584, Hooker replied to Puritan grumblers:—"Men should not (they say) be permitted a few by themselves to communicate when so many are gone away . . . I ask then on which side unity is broken, whether on theirs that depart, or on theirs who, being left behind, do communicate? . . . There is in the Scripture of God no one syllable that doth condemn communicating amongst a few when the rest are departed from them."[19]

In 1620, Bp. Andrewes in his service for consecration of churches, had a rubric "All the people not intending to communicate are dismissed, and the door is shut."[20] "The same order is followed in the Form of Consecration which passed the Convocation [and was approved by Q. Anne] in 1712, and which is now generally used," says Archdeacon Harrison "On the Rubric," p. 376.

In 1628, Dean Field, in his book "Of the Church," said "The faithful only might be present at it, all non-communicants being first dismissed and sent away."[21]

In 1635, Bp. Morton, in his epistle dedicatory to his book on the Mass (cited in Vogan on the Eucharist, p. 6) said "The Roman mass entices and invites to itself mere spectators by every allurement; as if almost the whole of the Christian Religion consisted in that one theatrical show; and yet these people (if

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[15] Remains, p. 267.
[16] Strype's Parker, p. 183.
[17] Works, ii.-549.
[18] Rit. Rep. App. 426-7.
[19] Eccl. Pol. v.-lxviii.-10.
[20] Works, v.-326.
[21] Book iii., Appendix, p. 12.

admissible to the Eucharist) Catholic antiquity amongst the Greeks ordered to go away (*ἀπέλθειν*) and amongst the Latins to depart (*discedere*)."

Bp. Montague, in 1639, at a synod at Ipswich ordered that "no non-communicant come in among them, no boys, girls, or gazers be suffered to look in as at a play."[22]

In 1655, Bp. Sparrow wrote, "The priest admonishes all that are coming to that holy sacrament, *driving away the unworthy* Those that after these exhortations *stay* to receive, the Church supposing prepared, invites to draw near."[23]

And L'Estrange, in 1659, said "True it is that, according to primitive rules, no man of the faithful might stay behind and not communicate."[24]

Thus the tradition was uniform till the last revision of the Prayer Book in 1662. At the Savoy Conference, the bishops said "the first and third exhortations are very seasonable before the Communion, to put men in mind how they ought to be prepared, and in what danger they are to come unprepared, that if they be not duly qualified, *they may depart* and be better prepared at another time."[25]

Yet in point of fact the Revisers did omit from what is now the second Exhortation the words above cited bidding men "depart," and it is very important to notice the reason of this change.

We have seen that in the Prayer Book of 1552 there was the strongest denunciation of non-communicant attendance. Why, then, were those plain words omitted in the Book of 1662? The answer is obvious. The warning words of 1552 had taken effect; throughout the whole course of 110 years the practice of non-communicants leaving the church had become fully established. How reasonable, then, that the Revisers should shorten the Exhortation by omitting words which no longer had any point or meaning. But more than this, the order to depart which was most necessary in 1552 was, through men's perversity, becoming positively hurtful and mischievous in 1662. After the confusion of the Great Rebellion, men were in no danger of profanely "hearing Mass," but in great danger of fancying that the Church sanctioned absence as an alternative which they were free to choose. How needful then to the cause of true religion that the warning words of 1552 should be withdrawn. For the same reason the Church now lets her non-communicants slink away without the blessing, lest a formal dismissal should give an appearance of recognition to non-communicating Christianity. "They who are called," yet "most unthankfully refuse to come," cannot be dismissed with the Master's blessing.

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[22] Prynne's Hist. of Laud's Trial, p. 100.
[23] Rationale, p. 263.
[24] Alliance, p. 269.
[25] Card. Conf., p. 353.

Bp. Cosin in his "Particulars to be Considered," wrote "The first and second Exhortations are more fit to be read some days before the Communion, than at the very same time when the people are to come to receive it. For, first, *they that tarry* for that purpose are not negligent; and they that are negligent *be gone* and hear it not."[26]

Bp. Wren also wrote in 1660, "To stand by, as gazers and lookers on, is *now wholly out of use in all parishes.* And the not-communicants generally do use to depart without bidding." On this ground he urged the omission of the words.[27]

Bp. Morley, a Savoy Commissioner, and one of the eight Bps. appointed by Convocation to conduct the revision of the Prayer Book in 1661, said "Both the sacraments may be and are called mysteries, but especially that of the Lord's Supper, which none were permitted to be present at, or to see administered in the primitive Church of old, nor are not in Protestant churches at this day, but such as are receivers and partakers of it. . . . But that which was not lawful, and counted a profanation in the primitive Church, is now in the Romish not only counted lawful but meritorious. I mean the standing by and looking on the celebration of the Lord's Supper, or the masse (as they call it) without receiving of it."[28]

It is clear, therefore, that our present Prayer Book intended to keep up the distinction between the "ante-communion service" (which is read even "when there is no Communion," and which is attended by non-communicants before there is a Communion), and the Communion Service properly so called. This is shown from the very structure of the service.

First, by the placing of the Exhortations, *not* where they are to be read, but in the break which occurs after the prayer for the Church Militant. That cannot be accounted for at all, on the supposition that the whole service is to be read continuously without a break.

Next, the words "Make your humble confession to Almighty God *before this congregation gathered together in His name*" were struck out in 1662. Moreover, in the second Exhortation, the non-communicants are still described as "separating from their brethren," a phrase explained by the extract given above from Hooker. But, more than all, we notice that an entirely new rubric was introduced before the second portion of the service, viz.:

"*At the time of the celebration of the Communion, the Communicants being conveniently placed for the Receiving,*" &c.

It is a curious fact that in the manuscript original of our

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[26] Works, v.-514.

[27] Jacobson's Fragments, p. 78.

[28] Argument drawn from sense against Transubstantiation, p. 17.

Prayer Book, which is "annexed" to the Act of Uniformity, this rubric was originally written "when the communicants have conveniently *placed themselves*:"[29] the subsequent alteration being designed to lay upon the churchwardens the obligation of seeing that due order is maintained at this point.

The object of the rubric was to put a stop to a slovenly practice of which Juxon complained in 1640 when he inquired "Have you any in your parish that keep their seats, and sit still in their places, not drawing near as is commanded by the church, but looking that the minister, should forsake the place of his station, by the church appointed, to bring it to them."[30] Or, as Archdeacon Bostock expressed it, "sit still in their seats or pews, to have the blessed body and blood of our Saviour go up and down to seek them all the church over."[31]

Udal, in his "Communion Comeliness," published in 1641, describes (p. 5) the inconveniences which ensued. "They neither see nor hear, until the minister come to the pews where they sit; in which, sometimes, there are divers pews, and they far distant one from the other; in which there are but one, or but two comunicants, in this corner, and one or two in the other corner, and others *up in the gallery*, and so will have the Minister hunt up and down to search them out, and administer unto them scattered here and there in several pews, remote one from the other. And I think shortly the sacrament of the Lord's Supper will get up into the steeple among the bells with us, as the sacrament of baptisme hath done heretofore among the papists."

During the subsequent twenty years of the "Great Rebellion," pews and galleries, often with *outside* staircases, multiplied. To cure the irregularities and inconveniences which ensued, our present rubric was framed; and it is obvious that a reasonable interval of time to enable communicants to quit the galleries, aisles, and side chapels, and to enable the churchwardens to "place" them is implied by the new rubric, just as a reasonable interval to enable the clergyman to ascend the pulpit is implied in the rubric "then shall follow the sermon." Such an interval marks a distinct break during which the uniform and continuous tradition of the Reformed Church of England requires all non-communicants to withdraw. Separate seats for the communicants within the chancel are presupposed. Thus, in 1591, the Commissary of the Archdeacon of Essex required one Wm. Peacock to make a public confession "when the whole company of communicants are gathered together in the quire."[32] In 1603 Bishop Thornborough asks if the parson communicated his parishioners "not in their several seats,

[29] Parker, Hist. Revis., p. 438
[30] Rit. Rep. App., p. 592-9.
[31] Rit. Rep. App., p. 599-6.
[32] Hale's precedents, p. 206.

where they usually sit in the church, but kneeling in the seats severally appointed in your several churches for the communicants, to receave the same."[33] In 1627 the churchwardens of Thoydon Garnon were presented for "having their chancel unseated."[34] Archdeacons King, Davenant, and White, and Bishops Thornborough, Bridges, and Montagu, similarly ask for, and insist upon, "communicants' seats," which the churchwardens were bound to provide. We showed in the INTELLIGENCER, I.-76, that this was the design also of the rubric "the chancels shall remain."

In 1652 Bp. Cosin wrote his "Regni Angliæ Religio Catholica" to give foreigners some idea of our English Liturgy. His account ran "The offertory having been gone through . . . afterwards they who are not about to communicate with us are sent out of doors (*emittuntur foras*). . . But the rest (*reliquos*) he admonishes. . . The exhortation ended, those who are about to communicate enter the choir."[35]

In his first Visitation held in the third week of July, 1662 (two months after the enactment of our present Prayer Book), Bp. Cosin asks "Do they leave their *common* seats, and draw near to the Communion table when they are to receive that sacrament?"[36]

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Thus we have shown that "the time of the celebration" is quite separated as a "second service" from the ante-communion, which latter is required by the first of the final rubrics to be said even "if there be *no* Communion." To that preliminary service non-communicants have legitimate access. Yet "when there is a Communion" (as the rubric before the Church Militant Prayer carefully discriminates) that "sensitive seclusion during the solemn service" of the Lord's Supper, which Dr. Hook said is characteristic of the Church of England, must be jealously guarded by English churchmen, if they would not violate the direct command of the Founder of the feast, "Take, eat, drink ye ALL."

Canon Trevor, Archdeacon Freeman, Mr. Hosmer, Mr. Scudamore, Bp. Wordsworth, Dean Goulburn, Canon Meyrick, and other 'High' Churchmen are witnesses with us to the alien character of that spurious tradition which seeks to graft the "hearing of Mass" upon a rite which, as "ordained by Christ Himself," consisted *essentially* of "eating and drinking." A sacrificial feast attended by non-communicants is an idea which would have revolted a Jew as being profane and impious. Shall the Ministers of Christ prove worse "stewards of His mysteries" than even the ancient 'builders' of the Temple?

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[33] Rit. Rep. App. 440-11.
[34] Hale's precedents, p. 55.
[35] Works, iv.-358.
[36] Rit. Rep. App., p. 602-8.

CONVOCATION REPORT.

THE following Report, adopted by the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation and signed "Harvey Goodwin, chairman," in 1866, deserves consideration at the present time :—

"*The encouragement of non-communicants to remain during the celebration of the Holy Communion.*"

"The Committee observe that in the ancient church the presence of non-communicants during the celebration of the Holy Communion was not allowed except in special cases, and as the last stage in the course of a penitential discipline; and that no argument can be drawn from ancient practice in favour of the view which regards such presence in the light of a privilege for Christians in general.

"The rubrical directions with regard to the presence or withdrawal of those who do not intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion, are not explicit. In the first Prayer Book of King Edward VI. there is this rubric, following the Offertory: 'Then so many as shall be partakers of the Holy Communion shall tarry still in the quire, or in some convenient place nigh the quire, the men on the one side, and the women on the other side. All other (that mind not to receive the said Holy Communion) shall depart out of the quire, except the Minister [s] and Clerks.' But in all the subsequent editions of the Prayer Book there is no corresponding rubric. Nevertheless the withdrawal of non-communicants has become the recognized practice of the English Church.

"The Committee further observe, that the practice of proceeding to the celebration of the Holy Communion in the presence of the general congregation, including (as it almost certainly will) a large number of persons who do not intend to communicate, and many of whom are not communicants at all, as it is opposed to the usage of the ancient church, so likewise has, as the Committee fear, a tendency to produce a diminution rather than an increase of reverence for the Holy Mysteries of the Body and Blood of CHRIST.

"The Committee think, therefore, that, while the attendance during celebration of persons not intending to communicate is not formally and distinctly forbidden, such attendance is contrary to the spirit and usage of the Church of England, and should not therefore be encouraged as an ordinary practice." (*See First Report of Rit. Commissioners*, p. 161.)

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10th Thousand.

THE NORTH SIDE OF THE TABLE.

To a plain man it must seem marvellous how any doubt could exist as to the meaning of the words "the priest standing at the north side of the table." On the face of the rubric they seem intended to regulate the position of the clergyman, *not* that of the table; and if any question were raised as to the meaning of "North side" one would naturally reply in the words of the Rt. Hon. Sir R. J. Phillimore, Dean of the Arches, "I think I must take the *primâ facie* meaning of the rubric, and consider it as the north side *of the whole table.*"[1]

That common-sense view was also adopted by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Purchas Judgment.—"Their lordships are of opinion that 'north side' means that side which looks towards the north." And again in the Ridsdale case they said "It is the duty of the minister to stand at the side of the table which, supposing the church to be built in the ordinary eastward position, would be next the north, whether the side be a longer or shorter side of the table . . . : it is accurate, both in scientific and in ordinary language, to say that a quadrilateral table has four sides." Facciolati's Dictionary defines 'side' as "the part between the front and back."[2] And Ritualistic writers, from the Ordo Romanus and Cærimoniale Romanum down to Mr. F. G. Lee, habitually distinguish between the front of the altar and its 'sides.' Dr. John Mason Neale, for instance, says the corporal (*i.e.* "fair white linen cloth") hung down "at the sides, *not at the front*, as may often be seen nowadays in the Church of England."[3]

Nor would any candid inquirer find it difficult to understand why the 'North' was chosen to be the clergyman's standpoint. Not certainly from any magical virtue in the points of the compass, but because churches in England being built east and west, a clergyman who had the table to the south of him *could* no longer interpose his body between the Supper of the Lord and the guests who partake of it, or hide from them those

[1] Fourth Report of Ritual Commissioners, p. 250.

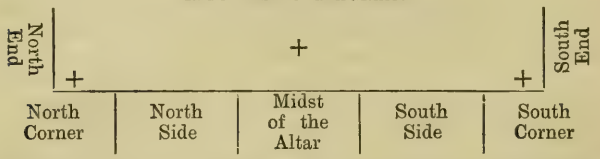
[2] "Pars inter frontem et posticum"; an illustration is given from Cicero, Philip. iii. c. 13, "A tergo, a fronte, a lateribus tenebitur."

[3] "Ad latera, non ad frontem.," Tetralogia, p. 221.

sacramental actions which our Lord bade His followers to "Do in remembrance of" Him, and which He was careful to 'do' therefore before their very eyes.

That such is the plain and obvious meaning of the rubric is proved not merely by an absolutely unbroken and continuous usage during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but by the fact that those who violate the law by standing at the West front of the Lord's Table cannot agree among themselves as to the pretext which shall be put forth for doing so. At first, the *Ecclesiastic* urged that the celebrant might go to the north-west *corner;* this was followed by Mr. F. G. Lee's diagram in the "Directorium Anglicanum," 1865.

RITUALISTIC DIAGRAM.



According to which we were asked to believe that one-fifth part of *one* of the sides of the table looking *westward* was the "*north* side *of the table*" itself! Mr. Blunt, however, in his "Annotated Prayer Book,"[4] and Archdeacon Freeman in his "Rites and Ritual,"[5] taught that the front is to be divided into *three* vertical sections, of which the left-hand one is the north 'side'! Then came Dr. Littledale who maintained that the two 'sides' meant the *two* halves of the front divided by "an imaginary line."[6] Lastly came Messrs. Walton and Scudamore who admitted that the notion that "side of the table" meant that section of one of its sides which happened to lie at one side of the celebrant, or of a crucifix, or of an "imaginary line," was "absolutely unknown to English Ritualists during the three last centuries, and conspicuously at variance with the facts of our Church history."[7]

Since that outspoken rebuke in 1866 the previous theories seem to have been silently dropped, and later writers on the Ritualistic side have adopted the Walton-Scudamore theory as being *the* 'correct' view. This theory is that at the time when the North Side rubric was originally sanctioned (viz. in 1552, 1559, and 1662) the Lord's Table was "ALWAYS, EVERYWHERE, UNIVERSALLY" oblong[8] in shape, and was invariably placed with its longer sides from east to west, so that the tables being now-a-

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[4] p. 160. [5] p. 71. [6] "North Side," p. 15.
[7] Walton's Letter to Carter, 3rd edition, pp. 35, 46, 47.
[8] Dr. Johnson defines 'oblong' as a parallelogram "whose sides are unequal."

days turned the other way, "there now is NO north *side*" (in the sense assigned by these gentlemen) and consequently

"WE ARE AT LIBERTY TO STAND WHERE WE WILL."[9]

Unhappily, this 'liberty' of the celebrant, involves the bondage of the congregation who stand committed by the public, overt, and formal acts of their 'persona' if they say 'Amen' to such a "giving of thanks" as is, in fact, a colourable imitation of the Romish Mass. Hence, an inquiry into the grounds of this latest 'correct' fashion, really concerns every Church-goer. It will be seen that it rests upon a double assumption—1st, that oblong tables were directed by authority to be ranged lengthwise down the axis of the Church; and 2nd, that the word 'side' was *designedly* employed to exclude the *ends* of the tables. Unless these statements of fact can be made good, the theory that there is "now *no* North side" must perish from its intrinsic unreasonableness. Mr. Walton's disgust with the rubric itself as a "mere antiquated rubric," which is to be treated as "practically repealed" in order to "place us in harmony with the *better* mind of the Church in *preceding* centuries," shows that his mind is out of sympathy with that of the framers of the rubric.

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Not a scrap of evidence has yet been produced to show that in 1552, or 1559, anybody, whether Puritan, Papist, or Churchman, attached the smallest importance to the supposed contrast between the 'side' and the 'end' of the table, or to the direction in which the table itself looked. As to its shape, Dr. Stephens in his "Notes on the Book of Common Prayer,"[10] says: "No form of table has been prescribed by the statute, and therefore it may be square or of any other rectilinear figure, or even circular, where of course you cannot have any 'side' in the sense which it is contended 'side' here bears. The meaning of 'at the north side' therefore seems really to be simply 'to the north' of the table." This view was emphatically adopted by the Supreme Court of Appeal in the Folkestone case, when, after listening to a long argument to prove the contrary, they said:—"The figure and the position of the table are not fixed either by nature or by law."[11] Dr. Lewis, in his "Reformation Settlement" (pp. 111, 112), and Mr. Pugin, in his 'Contrasts' (p. 30), says that the Edwardian tables were in fact 'square,' and this shape in many cases was probably adopted to increase their unlikeness in 'form' to the oblong altar. The Papists called

[9] Scudamore, Notit. Euch., p. 194. Walton's Letter, pp. 36, 46, 47.

[10] p. 1125.

[11] Perry's Report, p. 743. Even Abp. Williams, in his "Letter to the Vicar of Grantham," said, "All dioceses did agree upon receiving tables, but not so soon upon the form and fashion of their tables." Foxe, Act. and Mon., vi.-6; Burnet, Hist. Ref., ii.-327.

these tables "oyster boards," which is the very term used by Bp. Pierce, in derision of the *square* table set up by the churchwardens at Beckington.[12] Such a table may yet be seen at Fraisthorpe, in Yorkshire. That the Edwardian tables were not likely to be uniform in shape may be easily inferred from the story which Foxe tells (Act. and Mon. vii.-288) of the parson of Adisham, Kent, who on Sept. 3rd, 1553, after the accession of Mary, was attacked by a Popish parishioner who threatened, "If he say any service here again, I will lay the table on his face. And in that rage he with others took up the table, and laid it on a chest in the chancel, and set the trestles by it."

The wonder is that the Reformers did not boldly revert to the primitive practice of placing the minister behind the table facing the congregation, as in Leonardo da Vinci's well-known picture of the Last Supper. Cranmer had employed Holbein to depict just such a 'supper' in his Catechism, issued in 1548, and this was the more significant because in order to make room for it he had to strike out the original illustration in which a priest, "standing in the midst," is placing a wafer in the mouth of a communicant kneeling in front of an altar decked with lights "after the old sort," as Gardiner jeeringly boasted.

Cranmer in reply, pointed to the substituted picture as a

[12] 'An exact square.' The official "certified the Bishop that it was like an Oyster Table," Speeches and Passages of this happy Parliament, 1641, p. 320.

proof that in 1548 he 'misliked' those very details.[13] Facsimiles of both these woodcuts are given to show that the distinction between 'altar' and 'table' was not then supposed to consist in the 'endwise' or the 'lengthwise' arrangement of the latter. In John A'Lasco's church in London, the table was similarly placed (A.D. 1550) with its ends north and south. So, too, Pullain's church at Glastonbury (A.D. 1551) had the table placed "in sight of the congregation," the minister facing them, the elements being placed at the *ends* (cornua) of the table. So, too, Coverdale (Bp. of Exeter in 1551) in his translation of the Danish Liturgy, the first edition of which was published before 1546, describes the priest as "standing afore the table" *when addressing the congregation*, but the two priests who distribute the bread and wine as standing one at one 'end,' the other at the other.[14] The very same arrangement was adopted by the English Puritans at Frankfort in 1554.[15] "In the church of the Walloon congregation, in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, there is to this day the table at the west end of the church, with a bench all round it for the communicants to sit at; but the table stands *across* the church, north and south," says Archdeacon Harrison.[16]

Possibly there may have been good practical reasons in 1552 for seeking to secure uniformity by the compromise of "shouldering the people," as Dr. Littledale calls it, which, while doing least violence to the feelings of the older men, would yet secure the needful publicity demanded by the nature of a sacramental rite. In 1553 a French translation "par Francoys Philippe Serviteur de Monsieur le Grand Chancelier d'Angleterre" was published containing the rubric in question "le Prêtre étant debout auprés de la table, du coté du Nord;" words which remind the reader of Levit. i.-11.

The substitution of tables for altars had, however, been effected

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[13] See Dr. Burton's "Preface to Cranmer's Catechism," p. xx.

[14] See Coverdale's Works, P.S., vol. I., pp. 424-476. Coverdale was a leader of Elizabethan Puritanism as shown not only by his refusal to wear even a surplice at the consecration of Abp. Parker, but by his being summoned for nonconformity before the Archbishop. *See* Parker Corr., p. 270. Zurich Letters, ii.-121. Coverdale's Remains, p. 532.

[15] Liturgia Sacra seu ritus Ministerii in Ecclesiâ Peregrinorum, pp. 22, 92.

[16] Charge, 1875, p. 68. Men of views so diverse as the late Bp. Christopher Wordsworth and Bp. Thirlwall were favourable to this "westward position," which would have brought back the usage of the Church of England not merely to that of the Primitive Church, but even to the earlier English use. Bede tells us how at Canterbury the altar was placed "in medio pene suo;" and at Norwich Cathedral, at Stow and Little Bytham, in Lincolnshire, and elsewhere, seats *behind* the altar formed part of the original structure.

long *before*[17] the introduction of the "North side rubric" in 1552. To show this, let us briefly trace the

HISTORY OF THE TABLES UNDER EDWARD VI.

The altar recognised by the first Prayer Book of Edward (1549) was therein described three times as a 'table,' and twice as God's 'board,' so that the bishops who favoured the Reformation at once proceeded to translate this verbal metonym into literal fact. In 1549, the official of the Archdeacon of Caermarthen ordered the altar to be "pulled down" and "taken away:" though Bp. Ferrar finding "great grudge of the people," and "fearing tumult" (it was during the Devon rebellion) commanded the vicar to "set up the Communion table (*for the time*) near the place where it was before;"[18] even then, however, it appears from the deposition of Griffith Donne, town-clerk of Caermarthen, that the vicar celebrated "afore the midst of the altar" as required by the rubric, *but* "with his back toward the table," "with his back eastward."[19] The first Prayer Book only came into use on June 9th, 1549, yet before December "the altars in *many* churches are changed into tables."[20] In 1550 Wm. Salesbury published his "Baterie of the Pope's botereulx," in the Preface to which he praised Rich, the Lord Chancellor, for his activity in pulling down altars.[21] On March 5th, 1550, Hooper preached before the king "to turn altars into tables,"[22] and before that Ridley had destroyed the altars in the Diocese of Rochester.[23] On June 11th, 1550, "he brake down the wall standing by the high altar's side"[24] in St. Paul's Cathedral. This 'wall' probably supported a canopy, and corresponded to the curtains described by Durand in the thirteenth century as "on either *side* of the altar."[25] In

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[17] Heylin's wilful mistakes as to the dates of these events (copied by Collier, and censured by Burnet) are corrected by his editor, Canon Robertson, Hist. Ref., p. 207.

[18] Foxe, Act and Mon. vii.-6, where Foxe has misprinted 'Church' for 'Chancel.'

[19] Harl. MS. No. 420, p. 112, Dorso.

[20] Hooper, Dec. 27, Orig. Lett., p. 72. At St. Laurence's, Reading, the high altar was sold for 6*s* 8*d* in 1549. Keary's Hist., pp. 25, 27. At St. Martin's, Leicester, the New Table was set up with "posts" in 1551. North's Chronicle, p. 111.

[21] Brit. Mus., c. 25, b. 17.

[22] Early Writings, p. 488.

[23] Orig. Lett., pp. 79, 466.

[24] Foxe, vi.-7.

[25] Cortinis quæ sunt in utroque latere altaris" (Lib. iv., cap. 39). Durand describes the Bishop-celebrant as standing until the Offertory, "*not before* the altar but removed from it, at its right *side*" (cap. 11). Dr. Rock, in his 'Hierurgia,' ii., p. 742, describes the illuminated frontispiece to a life of Thomas à Becket, as showing an altar "at the *sides* of which are suspended two veils." Durand is quoted by more than one of the Edwardian Reformers, so that they were familiar with the term 'side' as describing the 'ends' of the altar.

the 14th Century, the synod of Cambrai ordered "curtains, called wings," to hang at the "*sides*" of the altar.[26] And the Lords' Committee in 1641 complained of the Laudian bishops "making canopies over the altar so-called, with traverses or curtains on each *side*, and *before* it."[27]

Not content with this, Ridley next substituted a table. On June 13th, 1550, the "table was set in the quire where the high altar stood."[28] Holinshed says this example was "shortly after followed throughout London."[29] At his Visitation in June, 1550, Ridley

"Exhorted the curates, churchwardens, and questmen here present to erect and set up the Lord's board after the form of an honest table, decently covered, in such place of the *quire or chancel*, as shall be thought most meet by *their discretion and agreement*, so that the ministers, with the communicants, may have their place separated from the rest of the people; and to take down and abolish all other by-altars or tables."[30]

King Edward notes in his Journal, June 23rd, 1550, that the sheriff of Essex enforced Ridley's orders "which touched the plucking down of superaltaries, altars, and such like ceremonies and abuses," and on Nov. 19th, 1550 "there were letters sent to every bishop to pluck down altars."[31] The letter itself witnesses that on Nov. 24th, 1550, "the altars within the *more part* of the churches of the realm" were already taken down.[32] Day, Bp. of Chichester, received this letter Nov. 29th, and was imprisoned for disobeying it, Dec. 11th, 1550.[33] The Order was judicially enforced in the Consistory Court of Goodrich, Bp. of Ely (one of the framers of the Prayer Book) on Dec. 7th, 1550.[34] The last of the old popish bishops appointed by Henry VIII. was deprived on Oct. 10th, 1551, so that all resistance from that quarter ceased more than twelve months before the second Prayer Book came into use, viz., Nov. 1st, 1552. Meantime, on Easter Eve, 1551, the *Greyfriars' Chronicle* (p. 69) relates: "then was the table removed, and set beneath at the vail *north and south*." *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, however (p. 47), gives a somewhat different version: "this year against Easter the Bishop of London altered the Lord's table that stood where the high altar was, and he removed the table beneath at the steps into the middest of the upper quire in Paule's, and set the ends east and west, the priest standing in the middest at the Communion,

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[26] Martene and Durand, Ampliss. Collect. vii.-1298.
[27] Card. Conf. p. 272.
[28] Wriothesley's Chronicle, ii.-41. [29] Chron. iii.-1024. Stow, p. 551.
[30] Works, p. 320, the disuse of the side-altars had been ordered on June 24th, 1549.—Card. Doc. Ann. i.-66.
[31] Burnet, Hist. Ref., II-ii.-24, 31. Strype's Cranmer, ii.-250.
[32] Doc. Ann. i.-89. [33] Strype's Cranmer, ii.-250-255.
[34] See CHURCH INTELLIGENCER, vol. iii.-100.

on the *south* (*sic*) side of the board." This, of course, was before the 'North side rubric' had been enacted. Stow, who describes the same event, does not note either of these peculiarities (p. 551). As Dean Milman in his "Annals of St. Paul's" observes (p. 227) "the accounts do not quite agree" and the practice appears to have varied. By this time a 'table' (tabula vel mensa, as Bp. Goodrich calls it) made of one or more 'boards' resting upon an open 'frame,' or upon trestles, had been substituted everywhere for the solid structure of masonry having a fixed slab with five incised crosses. The 'form' of such a movable table placed anywhere at the 'discretion' of the parochial authorities, distinguished it at a glance from the altar which it had supplanted. No wonder that the most extreme diversity of practice resulted from attempting to use the Liturgy of 1549 at such a table. Bp. Cosin describes how there were "some standing at the west side of the altar with their *faces turned towards the people*, others at the east, others at the south, and others at the north, that at last they agreed to set forth this rule," viz., "the *north* side of the table."[35]

The rule had the merit of being entirely new, since no part of the Mass had ever been said at the north side, whereas the south (or 'right-hand') had been the usual place for the opening part of the pre-Reformation rite. The position at the "north side" secured also that the face of the celebrant should be seen, his words heard in the mother tongue, and the sacramental 'action' or rite be visible to all whom it might concern.[36]

These were the only points upon which stress was then laid.[37] No direction to set the tables with their ends or sides all one way can be discovered in the reigns of Edward or Elizabeth, that is while the framers of the "North side rubric," still lived. We have bishops like Hooper and Ridley describing the various modes of "counterfeiting the Popish Mass," but the placing the table 'altarwise' was not one of them: we have Romanists ridiculing the divergencies of Protestant practice, but placing the table lengthwise, though certainly novel, was not noted as one of them. Until 1552 the table was limited to some place in the *chancel:* under the second Prayer Book it might be placed in which

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[35] Cosin's Works, v.-458.

[36] The Roman rule as to the 'right' and 'left' hands of the Crucifix had not then been received in England.—Maskell, Ancient Lit. p. xix., note 19. "Lay-folk's Mass Book," p. 174. The theories of Messrs. Lee, Blunt and Freeman, proceeded therefore upon a mistaken assumption. It may be added that before the Reformation the 'end' of the altar (or altar-'nook') did not mean its side, but the part marked as "corner" (cornu) in Mr. F. G. Lee's diagram. *See* Becon's Works, iii.-282. Simmons' "Lay-folk's Mass Book," p. 179.

[37] Hooper, in May, 1551, required that "the Minister in the use of the Communion and Prayers thereof turn his face towards the people." As to the table, he merely required it not to be "decked *behind* and before, as the altars were wont to be decked."—"Later Writings," pp. 128, 142.

ever part of the "church or chancel" was used for other public offices: but in neither case was the Edwardian table removed at the close of the service as the letter of the law under Elizabeth and James I. seemed to require. Ridley's own way of obeying the new rubric of 1552 is shown by the entry in *Wriothesley's Chronicle* (p. 79): "After the feast of All Saints' (*i.e.*, Nov. 1st, 1552) 'the table of the Communion was set in the lower quire *where the priests sing.*" On August 19th, 1554, the Venetian Ambassador wrote a description of the then disestablished Anglican rite. He said "They suppressed every sort of light in the churches . . . in the place where the choir used to be they had a table, covered with a cloth, on which they put common bread and wine, making the communicants kneel *round* it."[38]

UNDER ELIZABETH.

When the second Prayer Book of Edward was restored in 1559, the "Holy Table" came back with it, as matter of course, and at the same time a Royal Injunction was issued directing that the table in

"*Every* church be decently made, and set in the place where the altar stood . . and so to stand, saving when the Communion of the Sacrament is to be distributed; at which time the same shall be so placed in good sort *within the chancel*, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently, and in more number, communicate with the said minister. And after the Communion done, from time to time the same Holy table to be placed where it stood before."[39]

By this further Order of 1559, the Queen (so far as in her lay) abrogated the liberty to move the table into the *body of the church;* and her design was no doubt aided by the (certainly illegal) introduction at the same time of an unauthorised 'rubric' in *place of the one enacted by Parliament.*

The Rubric as ENACTED "*by Authority of Parliament*" *in* 1559.

"The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in such place of the Church, Chapel, or Chancel, *and the minister shall so turn him, as the people may best hear.* And if there be any controversy therein, the matter shall be referred to the Ordinary, and he or his deputy shall appoint the place, and the Chancels shall remain, as they have done in times past."

The Rubric substituted by . . . ? in the printed Prayer Book of 1559.

"The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used *in the accustomed place of* the Church, Chapel, or Chancel, except it shall be otherwise determined by the Ordinary of the place: and the Chancels shall remain, as they have done in times past."

[38] Venetian State Papers, p. 556.

[39] Doc. Ann., i.-202.

This new 'Erastian' fraud-rubric directed the priest to use the Morning and Evening Service "in the accustomed place," a phrase which was probably intended to indicate the customary stall at the lower end of the chancel. The unpublished "Interpretations of the bishops" in 1561, proposed to suggest that "the table be removed out of the choir into the body of the church, *before the chancel door;* where either the choir seemeth to be too little, or at great Feasts of receivings."[40] Still, in the same document the order of the Injunction for "placing the Communion-board" was reaffirmed.[41] In 1561 the Queen issued a further Order directing "that there be fixed upon the wall, over the said Communion-board, the tables of God's precepts,"[42] and the Royal Advertisements of 1566 specified "the East wall over the said table."[43] In 1562 it was proposed in Convocation "that the table from henceforth stand *no more* altarwise, but stand in such place as is appointed by the Book of Common Prayer."[44] The object of that proposal was to get rid of the Order appended to the Injunctions: for, by the *rubric* itself, the table might permanently remain "where Morning and Evening Prayer be appointed to be said." Nothing, however, came of the suggestion. At Abp. Parker's Consecration "the table adorned with a carpet and cushion was placed at the East."[45]

In 1565, among the returns sent to the Metropolitan in consequence of the celebrated letter of Q. Eliz. (dated Jan. 25th, 1565), under which the Advertisements of 1566 were ultimately issued, is one from Canterbury Cathedral, reporting that

"The Common Prayer daily throughout the year, though there be no Communion, is sung at the Communion Table, standing north and south where the high altar did stand. The minister, when there is no Communion, useth a surplice only, standing on the east side of the table with his face toward the people. The Holy Communion is ministered ordinarily the first Sunday of every month throughout the year, at which time the table is set east and west."[46]

It is not stated how the officiants were placed at the time of the actual celebration: but it is stated that "the priest which ministereth, the pystoler and gospeller, at that time wear copes."

Now if anyone will try to imagine the effect of placing three priests in copes at the 'side' of a table arranged *lengthwise*, he will see that the sacramental action would be practically con-

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[40] Doc. Ann. i.-205.

[41] See Mr. Parker's 'Letter to Selborne,' p. 97; Perry on Purchas, J. p. 285, both of whom correct Cardwell's extraordinary misprints.

[42] Robertson's Heylin, ii.-361.

[43] Doc. Ann. i.-292. Compare Canon 82. [44] Card. Synod. ii.-498.

[45] Doc. Ann. i.-243.

[46] Strype's Parker, 183. MONTHLY INTELLIGENCER, ix.-324.

cealed from the spectators. It is probable, therefore, that the Canterbury celebrant placed himself at the east end of the table, which is the position actually taken up in each of the four Jersey Churches which have retained the lengthwise arrangement of their tables.[47]

We are not to suppose, however, that this "Canterbury Use" obtained generally. On the contrary, this is probably the *only* known instance in which Morning and Evening Prayers were said *at* the Lord's table. "*Commonly* the minister's seat is at the lower end of the Chancel," says Bp. Middleton.[48] Again, the saying the Ante-Communion on "the east side of the table" was a clear violation of the rubric; and appears as a peculiarity at Canterbury. In the Lansdowne MSS. bound up in the same volume with the Queen's letter (and standing next to it in the volume) is a sort of synopsis of the "Varieties in the service, and the administration used," dated "Feb. 14th, 1564" (*i.e.* 1565 New Style). The following extract from it illustrates our subject:—

> "*Table.* The Table standeth in ye body of ye church in some places, in others hit standeth in ye chauncell.
> In some places the Table standeth Alterlyke distant from ye walle a yarde, in some others in ye middest of ye chauncell north and south.
> In some places the Table ys joyned, in others hit standeth uppon Trestells.
> In some ye Table hath a carpett, in others hit hath none."[49]

This shows that the Canterbury certificate was but one 'variety' out of many which at that time co-existed side by side in the Church of England.

And it is especially to be noted that the Advertisements, when issued in 1566, left these 'varieties,' *so far as regards the place and position of the Table*, entirely unchanged. That this was done advisedly is shown by the fact that Bp. Bullingham, one of the framers of the Advertisements, visited King's College, Cambridge, in 1565, and deprived the Ritualistic Provost who had "used Mr. Woolward very extremely (who was afterwards Fellow of Eton) because he would not execute the service at the Communion with his face toward the east and his back toward the congregation[50] according to the manner of the Mass."

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[47] Walton's Letter, 1st edit. p. 64.

[48] Rit. Rep. App. 426-2, 6. Z. L., ii.-361.

[49] Lansdowne MS. viii. fol. 16. Strype prints it from Cecil's papers, but misprints the word 'altar*wise*.'

[50] The word 'congregation' in the Lansdowne MSS. viii.-53 has been carelessly misprinted 'table' by Strype.

Provost Baker bolted to Louvain. But no change was ordered as to the position of the *table*.

The Romanists who attacked the Protestant Church service never allude to the 'endwise' innovation: while the Puritan strictures show that the usage in at least many Elizabethan churches was exactly like the Victorian Use.

John Rastell, replying (A.D. 1564) to Bp. Jewel said, "Your order of celebrating the Communion is so unadvisedly conceived, that every man is left unto his private rule or canon, whether he will take the bread into his hands, or let it stand at the end of the table." This implies that the bread was placed at the 'end' where the celebrant must also have been standing; for at that time there was no rubric authorising him either to 'order' the elements, or to perform what are now called the "manual acts."[51] Lower down Rastell speaks of the minister as "looking toward the South."[52]

The same thing is shown also by the reply of Dr. Fulke (Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge) A.D. 1579, to Rastell saying, "He demandeth, why we take not the bread into our hands, before we consecrate it as Christ did? As though Christ appointed at what moment we should touch it, or, that Mr. Rastell is able to say, that Christ spake nothing of his institution *before* he touched the bread; or as though we did not use ordinarily before we make the exhortation unto the Communion to take the bread and break it, and with the cup set it before us, and not *let it stand* at the end of the table, as he belyeth us, as though we were ashamed to follow Christ."[53] Again (p. 720), "And he will know of us wherefore we appoint the priest to stand on the Northside. [*sic.*] Verily for the same reason, that the Primitive Church did choose to pray toward the East, viz., to avoid the superstition of the Jews, that prayed to the West, as we do to avoid the superstition of the Papists that use to pray to the East, otherwise all quarters of Heaven, of their own nature, are indifferent for us, to turn ourselves unto in our prayers, either public or private." In the same volume (p. 399) in his Reply to D. Heskins, he contends that the primitive table though 'improperly' called an 'altar' was a "table and nothing like the popish altars which are of stone and set against a wall, for they stood in the midst of the Church."

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[51] Yet in 1583, Bp. Middleton forbad the celebrant to "handle, lift up, or show unto the people the bread and wine, but shall *let it lie still* upon the Table, until the distribution thereof, and *then* to break it." Rit. Rep. App. 426-3. Our present rubric is of course quite different; but the ritual fraction is not ancient or 'Catholic.' Scudamore, Not. Euch. pp. 610, 659. Palmer's Orig. Liturg., ii.-77, 78.

[52] Heylin, Hist. Ref., ii.-428.

[53] "D. Heskins, D. Sanders, and M. Rastell, &c., overthrown," p. 781.

Thos. Dorman (A.D. 1564) in his book "A Reproof" against Jewel, speaking of the Communion says (p. 110), "Your minister's face one while to be turned towards the South, another while towards the North." No hint being given of any "eastward position."

In 1556, Miles Huggard, in his "Displaying of Protestants" (p. 80), says:

"How long were they learning to set their table to minister the said Communion upon? First they placed it aloft where the high altar stood. Then must it be set from the wall *that one might go between*: the ministers being in contention on whether part to turn their faces, either toward the West, the North, or South. Some would stand southward, some northward, and some westward. Thus turning every way they missed the right way."

Huggard's "right way" meant, of course, the "eastward position"; and he represents the 'contention' as relating solely to the place of the table, and the aspect of the minister, *not* to the position of the table itself with regard to points of the compass.

While the Papists thus ridiculed 'varieties' in placing the holy table, the Puritans complained that the Elizabethan tables were used exactly as we now see them.

Cartwright in his reply to Whitgift (A.D. 1573)[54] complains that after Morning Prayer, the minister, "for saying another number of prayers, climbeth up to the farther end of the chancel, and runneth as far from the people *as the wall will let* him:" and again, in his second reply, A.D. 1577 (p. 186), "the minister readeth some in the hither, some in the upper part of the chancel, as far from the people *as the wall* will let him go." In 1589 was published "A Collection of certain slanderous Articles given out by the bishops against such faithful Christians as they now unjustly detain in their prisons," which, under Art. 7, denounces "new apocrypha lawes and Injunctions added, to the priest to stand at the north end of the table."[55]

So in 1590, the Puritan Barrow, by way of abusing the Prayer Book, in his "Brief Discourse of the False Church" (p. 101) says:—

"By their Service Book . . in the public Communion the priest (arrayed in his ministerial vesture) is placed at the north end of the table, and there is to read his certain. He is there nurtured when to turn to the table, when to the people, when to stand, when to kneel, what and when to say. The people (after they have offered to the priest) are in their place to kneel down to say and answer the priest at his turns and times, as is prescribed in their Mass Book; where

[54] Lib. i., p. 134.

[55] There are two copies of this in the British Museum, T$\frac{1013}{10}$ and$\frac{1013}{8}$.

(after Sir priest hath taken a say, and begun to the people) he delivereth unto them as they kneel," &c.

Here, it is to be noted that the Puritans do not complain that this was any violation of the rubric; nor did the Elizabethan Puritans complain of the practice itself except on the ground of *distance* from the congregation. "When the Puritans obtained their will, it was not a simple turning of the Communion tables east and west, instead of north and south, that they desired and effected. In Hooker's parish of Bishopsbourne, when a Puritan got possession of his parsonage, 'it was not long,' says Izaac Walton, 'before this intruding minister made a party in and about the said parish, that were desirous to receive the sacrament as at Geneva: to which end the day was appointed for a select company, and forms and stools set about the altar or Communion table for them to sit and eat and drink.'"[56]

The Injunction of 1559 did not require the removal of the table, except where the Morning Prayer was said "in the body of the church," or where from the size of the chancel its permanent site there would be inconvenient. Nevertheless, year by year a larger number of churches adopted reading-desks, and an increasing number of tables were removed into the nave. But it is a mistake to suppose that *all* the tables when placed against the east wall were ranged from north to south, or that *all* the tables when moved into the nave were placed east and west. Dean Howson says: "*I can see no reason for taking either of these things for granted.* The point of importance is whether the priest[57] stands with his face to the south or his face to the east." Archdeacon Harrison says: "There was no Order of the Church, as seems now very generally supposed, for a lengthwise position of the table in the body of the church."[58] Of the few remaining examples of the lengthwise position of the table, some as Llangybi, Llanharmon, and Ogleworth had one end in contact with the east wall; while others as Hawarden,[59] Mallwyd,[60] and Wiggenhall,[61] which stood 'free' from the wall had their ends North and South.

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[56] Adn. Harrison's Charge, p. 67.

[57] "Before the Table," 1875, preface xiii., and p. 50 note. "Position of Priest," 1877, p. 19. Macmillan.

[58] Charge, 1875, pp. 63, 73. Dr. Featley testified that at Lambeth the Table had stood at the East end time out of mind "nor was it then turned altarwise;" its removal he dates but "twenty years before," March 16th, 1643. Walker's Sufferings, p. 76.

[59] Howson's "Position of the Priest," p. 40.

[60] "Until 1854, the Holy table stood in the body of the Church, the ends North and South, close to the central alley." Walton's Letter to Carter, 1st edit., p. 63.

[61] Canon Swainson's "Rubrical Question of 1874," 2nd edit. p. 24.

Although no hard and fast line was intended by the framers of the rubric who appointed the table to stand "where morning prayer and evening prayer be appointed to be said," seeing that they introduced *at the same time* the new rubric "the chancels shall *remain;*" yet the result was that when reading-desks multiplied, the tables 'stood' near to them, and as the wardens would not take the trouble to remove them from time to time, they remained for the most part near to the reading-desk. So early as August 1562 Bp. Pilkington ordered prayers to be said, and the table to "stand in the body of the church" throughout the diocese of Durham.[62] And this was followed by a further order in September 1567 from Robert Swift, "the Ordinary" to place round it "certain forms or desks" which the churchwardens immediately after did "take up and remove" together with the table itself; for doing which they were excommunicated! This illustrates the conflict between the rubric and the Injunction, as interpreted by opposite parties in the Church. In 1564 we read of a reading-desk at Darlington "near the chancel door." And in 1569 Bp. Parkhurst orders desks everywhere in the diocese of Norwich; even in the smaller churches "outside the chancel door."[63] Grindal in 1571 orders a "decent low pulpit;" except in "very small churches" where the minister might still keep to his "accustomed stall in the choir."[64] In 1574 Abp. Whitgift preferred the east end of the church,[65] and in 1584 it was still matter of dispute as to "the unfit place prescribed for the ministers' standing in prayer at the east end of the house" between the Puritans,[66] and Dr. John Bridges,[67] who was afterwards Bp. of Oxford.

So long as the desk remained just outside the chancel, the table would naturally be placed in the crossing where the junction of the central alley with the transepts or aisle-pathway left ample room for the table to be placed crosswise. But every day the practice of bringing the prayer-desk lower down the church was becoming more common, longer and more frequent sermons necessitated substantial seats, and the growth of Puritanism within the church led to the introduction of high pews to screen those who refused to kneel, or to make the canonical obeisance at the reading of the Gospel. The growth of pews was rapid and universal; special seats for communicants clustered round the table when placed in the middle alley, so that for mechanical reasons it became necessary, or at any rate,

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[62] Depositions and Ecclesiastical Proceedings at Durham, p. 118.
[63] Robertson, p. 54. [64] Remains, p. 132. [65] Works, ii.-463.
[66] "Brief Declaration," p. 65.
[67] "Defence of the Government," p. 627.

convenient that the table should stand lengthwise with its ends pointing down the middle alley. For the same reason, too, the tables were often made unduly narrow.

To this cause, rather than to any deliberate design, the general placing of tables lengthwise, at the close of the 16th Century, is to be attributed.

However desirable in itself that arrangement might be, it led, in practice, to grave inconveniences. Out of the time of administration, the "Holy table" was often used as a stand for hats, and even as a seat—"an ordinary seat for maidens and apprentices," wrote Abp. Bramhall, A.D. 1633. Still worse profanations by dogs are mentioned in Bishops' charges; and in one parish (Tadlow) a dog ran away with the communion loaf. Besides this, the pews occasioned great awkwardness in the distribution.

"Because the people usually sit in their seats, and cannot be discerned whether they kneel or not while they receive, and because the minister cannot possibly come with any convenience at them which are *placed furthest in their seats*, to deliver the Sacrament to them, unless every other seat should be left void." [68]

In 1641, Ephraim Udall, Rector of St. Austin's, wrote—

"We press the action of breaking the bread against the Papist. To what end, if not that beholders might thereby be led unto the breaking of the Body of Christ . . . which all shall see if there be a competent number at the table, and few shall see if they sit in pews so high as the pews in London." [69]

Udall was not a Laudian, and his testimony is corroborated by one of the bishops appointed by King William III., Bp. Gardiner of Lincoln, who, in his "Advice to the Clergy of the Diocese of Lincoln," A.D. 1697, p. 22, says—

"Finding great inconvenience in *consecrating in so strait a place as an ally of the church*, and delivering the bread and wine in narrow seats, over the heads and treading upon the feet of those that kneel . . . one cannot but wonder that the parishioners in any place should be averse to receive in this order, and that rectors should not take care to fit their chancels for this purpose; but some lie wholly disused, in more nastie manner than any cottager of the parish would keep his own house; others are employed for keeping school, by reason of which the seats, pavement, and windows are commonly broken and defaced."

These last words curiously resemble the memorable description given in Queen Elizabeth's letter of January 22nd, 1561, in which she complained to Abp. Parker of the

"Negligence and lack of convenient reverence used toward the comely keeping and order of the said churches, and especially of the upper part, called the chancels . . . by permitting open decays, and

[68] Laud's Letter to Abp. Williams, Works, vi.-350.
[69] "Communion Comeliness," p. 4.

ruins of coverings, walls and windows, and by appointing *unmeet and unseemly tables with foul cloths* for the communion of the sacraments, and generally leaving the place of prayers *desolate of all cleanliness,*" &c.[70]

It is necessary to realise this state of things in order to understand that the actual condition of English churches in the seventeenth century is not evidence of the intention of the framers of the rubrics. The country churches, "pewed up to the eyes," were almost invariably arranged with their tables lengthwise in 1627, when a fierce controversy on this trumpery question broke out. Yet Andrewes, who became bishop in 1605, had his chapel arranged with a cushion on the north end of the table, and "kneeling stools covered and stuffed" at each end.[71] He described the officiants as "the one at one end, the other at the other, representing the two cherubims at the mercy seat."[72] Even in the fancy service which he drew up for the consecration of Jesus Chapel in 1620, though the bishop knelt in front of the table at the preliminary dedication prayers, yet the whole of the Communion office was said "to the north of the Holy table" (ad sacræ mensæ septentrionem).

Abp. Laud's chapel had "two low stools to kneel on at each end of the altar," and the service book is shown at the north end;[73] and Laud said that the chapel at Whitehall was arranged like his own. Of parish churches, we know that St. Margaret's Westminster, St. Martin's in Campis, St. Michael's in Crooked Lane, St. Saviour's, besides four named churches in Norwich and several in the county of Norfolk, had their tables railed in time out of mind.[74] Wren says there were "very many parish churches wherein it had never been otherwise" (p. 75). Among those which had the table with its ends north and south were the Abbey at Westminster, the Cathedral at Lincoln, and the private chapel of Bp. Williams, at Bugden. Only three or four Cathedrals, in fact, are known to have had the lengthwise arrangement. But Laud, in addition to placing the table sideways, wished to range it *in contact with* the east wall, and to "to rail it in" there so as to prevent its removal at Communion time as prescribed by the Injunctions of 1559, by the rubric, and the 82nd canon of 1604. This illegal exaction he enforced by methods most cruel and unjust,[75] and his narrow-minded and impolitic violence contributed, as is well known to the downfall of both

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[70] Parker Corr., p. 132.

[71] See plate in "Hierurgia Anglicana, p. 9. The table was 1¾ yards long, and 1 yard broad.

[72] Minor Works, p. 150.

[73] Prynne's Canterburie's Doom, p. 122.

[74] Wren's 'Parentalia,' p. 77.

[75] His invoking the power of the Crown to prevent the suit of the parishioners of St. Gregory's from running its legitimate course to the Court of Arches and the Delegates was a gross perversion of Justice.

Church and State. Yet it is clear that Williams was not actuated by conscientious motives in his opposition to Laud, for he not only retained the 'illegal' situation of the table in his own cathedral, chapel, and abbey, but altered his Visitation Articles of 1635, by striking out the inquiry

"Whether is it so used out of time of Divine Service, as is not agreeable to the holy use of it; as by sitting on it, throwing hats on it, writing on it, or is it abused to other profane uses."

For which he substituted in 1641 (*i.e.*, after the Canon of 1640 had been passed)—

"Doth your said Communion Table stand in the ancient place where it ought to do, where it hath done for the greatest *part of* these sixty years *last* past, or hath it been removed to the east end, and placed altarwise, by whom, and whose authority hath it been so placed."[76]

Yet when his earlier series was issued Laud had already been publicly engaged *for twenty years* replacing the tables at the east end; and in 1631, Kent, Archdeacon of Sudbury, had inquired, "Doth it ordinarily stand up at the east end of the chancel, where the altar formerly stood; the ends thereof being placed north and south.[77] Four months after the Canon cited below had been ratified by the King, on October 31st, 1640, the Alderman's Court, at Grantham, defended the placing of the table north and south by reporting to the House of Commons that "the present Bp. of Lincoln' (Williams) 'at his last Visitation caused the Epistle and Gospel to be read at the communion table placed as it now stands, and sat at the North end thereof, and found no fault, nor gave any direction to the then churchwardens to alter it."[78]

In the struggle between the rival courtiers, Laud and Williams, the latter was getting the worst of it. He lost his post as Lord Keeper in 1625, and began to oppose the Church administration of his rival by publishing anonymous pamphlets in 1627, and then by acting as Chairman of the Sub-Committee of parliamentary 'Divines' in 1641. Collier says, "He now changed his opinion in some measure,"[79] and Barnard, the biographer of Heylin, says he wrote "against science and conscience, so dear is the passion of revenge." However that may be, the point to note is that Williams only claims "the greatest *part of* these sixty years last past," *i.e.*, up to A.D. 1581. The House of Lords in their Order dated March 1st, 1640, similarly specify "the greater *part of* these three-score years last past," yet "three-score years" from 1640 only brings us back to A.D. 1586:

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[76] Rit. Rep. App. 551.

[77] Rit. Rep. App. 527-37. In. *B. M.* No. 698 $\frac{h.}{30}$ 20 is a similar inquiry from the Archdeacon of 'Norwich,' A.D. 1638. Wren, Davenant, Duppa, Mountagu, Pearce, Pearson, and Juxon make the same demand.

[78] State Papers, Dom. Charles I., p. 204.

[79] Eccl. Hist. viii.-94.

thus admitting that *for the first thirty years or so* of Queen Elizabeth's reign the 'altarwise' position had been maintained. It is obvious that the customs of A.D. 1580-1640, when varying from those of A.D. 1559-1580, can be no evidence whatever as to the meaning of the framers of the rubric in 1552 or 1559. And against these statements must be set such cases as St. Giles', Cripplegate, in which the parishioners refused to obey the order of the House of Commons on the ground that "it had continued so for eighty years;" and Lambeth, where the Vestry insisted that rails were "no innovation."[80] The actual usages of country churches in 1627 (when Williams wrote) were as far as possible from being samples of exact rubrical observance. Yet the purely verbal and grammatical arguments of Abp. Williams' anonymous pamphlet in 1627, though rejected by Convocation, rebutted by Heylin and Pocklington, and given up as untenable by his friendly biographer Bp. Hacket,[81] are cited by Ritualists as though, with those of Peter Smart, they formed conclusive evidence of the true interpretation of the Prayer Book! "*Tempora mutantur, et nos.*"

The two Convocations in 1640 passed the following canon which, though not binding in law, must be taken for what it may be worth as evidence of contemporary usage and practice.

"That the standing of the Communion-Table side-way under the east-window of every chancel or chappel, is in its own nature indifferent, neither commanded nor condemned by the Word of God, either expressly, or by immediate deduction, and therefore, that no religion is to be placed therein, or scruple to made thereon. And albeit at the time of Reforming this Church from that gross superstition of Popery, it was carefully provided that all means should be used to root out of the minds of the people, both the inclination thereunto, and memory thereof; especially of the Idolatry committed in the Mass, for which cause all Popish Altars were demolished; yet notwithstanding, it was then ordered by the Injunctions and Advertisements of Queen *Elizabeth* of blessed memory that the holy Tables should stand in the place where the Altars stood, and accordingly have been continued in the Royal Chappels of three famous and pious Princes, and in most Cathedral, and some Parochial Churches, which doth sufficiently acquit the manner of placing the said Tables from any illegality, or just suspicion of Popish superstition or innovation. And therefore we judge it fit and convenient, that all Churches and Chappels do conform themselves in this particular to the example of the Cathedral or Mother Churches, saving always the general liberty left to the Bishop by Law, during the time of Administration of the holy Communion. And we declare that this situation of the Holy Table, doth not imply that it is, or ought to be esteemed a true and proper Altar, whereon Christ is again really sacrificed; but it is, and may be called an Altar by us, in that sense in which the Primitive Church called it an Altar, and no other.

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[80] Walker's "Sufferings of the Clergy," pp. 25, 76. Nalson, ii.-491.
[81] Life of Williams, p. 109.

"And because experience hath showed us, how irreverent the behaviour of many people is in many places, some leaning, others casting their hats, and some sitting upon, some standing, and others sitting under the Communion table in time of Divine service: for the avoiding of these and the like abuses, it is thought meet and convenient by the present Synod that the said Communion tables in all Chancells or Chappels be decently severed with Rails, to preserve them from such or worse profanations."

A book of Visitation Articles, compiled by Heylin, was also ordered by the 9th Canon of 1640, to be used *in every diocese*, and was issued by Juxon, enforcing the 'sideways' position of the table. Williams, indeed, stood then absolutely alone among the bishops in his advocacy of the 'lengthwise' position as being required by law. Abbot and Davenant, Morton and Hall, were in this matter at one with Laud.

In 1636, Laud and Wren were concerned in a revision of the Scotch liturgy, which proposed to alter the rubric thus "*the holy table . . . shall stand at the uppermost part of the chancel or church, where the Presbyter standing at the north-side or end thereof*," &c.[82] It has been suggested by Ritualists that this was intended to give an alternative (the *or* being disjunctive), so that the 'Presbyter' might stand *either* at the 'end' or at some unknown point to be called the 'north-side'! But this gratuitous conjecture is refuted by the facts—

(*a*) That Laud's friend, Heylin, was the chief opponent of Abp. Williams' 'side' theory; and Petley's Greek version of the Prayer Book, dedicated to Laud in 1638, renders the rubric, Ἀρκτόθι απο τῆς τραπέζης, "Northward from the table."

(*b*) That Laud was never accused by his Puritan assailants of turning his back to the people at Holy Communion. On the contrary, their charges were that this Scotch rubric would enable the Priest to "come from the north end of the table,"[83] and "not only to *turn his shoulder* as he was by his north stance in all his former action, but his very back by this new change of place,"[84] referring to the new rubric at the consecration prayer, then also inserted. This latter was declared by the Puritans to be "without warrant of the Book of England," and Laud admits that it was so, but pleads that the tables were often narrow, and "he protested in the presence of Almighty God he knew of *no other intention* herein than this,"

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[82] The hyphen between 'north' and 'side' is found *only* in this Scotch liturgy; and no comma preceded the explanatory words "or end." In modern Prayer Books the hyphen is an interpolation by the printers. In the three editions by Whitchurch, in 1552, "Northsyde" was printed as one word = northwards.

[83] "A large Supplement of the Canterburian's Self-Conviction," p. 105.

[84] "Comparison of the Liturgy with the Mass Book," 1641, pp. 44, 58.

viz., "that the priest may use both his hands with more ease and decency about that work."[85]

(*c*) Pierce, Bp. of Bath and Wells ("a great creature of Canterbury's") assigned as one reason why the table should stand in the altar place, viz., "that the table standing thus, the *face of the minister would be better seen*, and his voice more audibly and distinctly heard than if he stood upon a level in the midst of the chancel."[86]

(*d*) Wren (Laud's co-reviser) said, "Custom of speech led them (the framers of the rubric of 1552), to call the north end or north part of the table the north *side* thereof."[87]

(*e*) It is infinitely improbable that an alternative would be introduced at a time when 'uniformity' was being rigidly exacted. On the other hand, Smart at Durham, and Williams at Lincoln, had made such a controversial use of the word 'side,' that the framers of the Scotch liturgy would naturally desire to exclude all possibility of it for the future by adding 'end' as the true interpretation of the conventional term "North-side."

UNDER CHARLES II.

On the very eve of the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1659, the earliest commentary on the Prayer Book was published by a layman, Hamon L'Estrange, who may be taken as the type of the orthodox churchmanship of his day. In his "Alliance of Divine Offices," reprinted in the "Anglo-Catholic Library" (p. 244), he says:—

"So that out of Communion time the table is to stand Altarwise, as we, and only we do phrase it; for Altar-wise is an idiom peculiar to us English, not known abroad in foreign parts; and they who can find Popery in that position have better eyes than ordinary. Altars with them do not observe one regular position: some are placed in the middle of the choir; some at the upper part, end-ways North and South; and if eye-witnesses may be trusted, the chief Altar in St. Peter's Church at Rome, stands in the midst of the Chancel. As for the Priest standing at the North side of the Table, this seemeth to avoid the fashion of the Priest's standing with his face towards the East, as is the popish practice."

L'Estrange reprinted this in 1690 and 1699.

At the Restoration, the Prayer Book came immediately into use. As the Preface to our present Prayer Book expresses it, the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, with the Advertisements of 1566 and the Canons of 1604, were "laws never yet repealed," because none of the 'Ordinances' of Parliament subsequent to the year 1640 were held to have any legitimate place in the Statute Book. Hence so early as May 10th, 1660, the Prayer

[85] "Hist. Troubles," p. 118. [86] Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 272.
[87] 'Parentalia,' p. 75, cf. p. 104.

Book was restored at Westminster Abbey; and on August 23rd, all the Colleges at Oxford, save three, had again adopted it. At least four editions of the Prayer Book were printed during 1660-61, *before* the Convocation revision was taken in hand. The Presbyterian incumbents preached against the Prayer Book, but in Royalist and 'churchy' neighbourhoods its use was restored forthwith.

As Canon Simmons observes,[88] the "triumph of Puritanism did more for uniformity than all the high-handed proceedings of the Court of High Commission, or even the conciliatory tone of the Laudian canon. The altar-wise position of the table, hitherto the rallying point of contending parties within the Church, now became the common symbol of episcopacy and of the Prayer Book, down-trodden for a while by rival sects. As a natural result, on the king's return, one of the first manifestations of Royalist and anti-Puritan feeling was to place the communion tables in the churches as the canon of 1640 had appointed." He mentions that among 'dispursements' in churchwardens' accounts of that period such items as "righting table, setting up rails," occur. Evelyn enters in his diary, under date "April 6th, 1662' (*i.e.*, *before* the Act of Uniformity had passed) 'being of the Vestry, in the afternoon, we ordered that the communion-table should be set (*as usual*) altarwise, with a decent rail in front, as before the rebellion."[89]

In 1661 we have Zachary Crofton complaining of

> "That order in which it was of late (*and beginneth afresh to be*) used among us, in His Majesty's Chapel Royal, Lambeth Palace, the cathedrals, and *many* parish churches, whilst the table must be made in the frame of an Altar, railed in, and advanced as a holy enclosure; fixed at the east end of the church," &c.[90]

From the other side comes the same testimony. Dean Durel, the executor of Bp. Cosin, and the official translator of the Prayer Book into French (if not also, as Mr. Charles Marshall contends, authorized by Convocation as the translator of the same book into Latin), published a "View of the government and public worship of God in the Reformed Churches" in 1662, in the table of contents of which he said, "It is indifferent in itself which way the communion table standeth so that the public order of the Church be not violated. When it is in the midst of the church, *Presbyterianwise*, it standeth Altarwise, and not when it standeth against the wall at the upper end of the church." This retort he repeats (p. 31), and again in 1688 he urged it in his "Vindiciæ Eccl. Anglicanæ," p. 224.

On April 23rd, 1661, at the coronation of Charles II., we read[91]

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[88] *Contemporary Review*, vol. iv., p. 97.
[89] Compare also entry, "March 22, 1678."
[90] Altar Worship, p. 114.
[91] Hierurgia Anglicana, pp. 290-303.

of a "wall on the back *side* of the altar," and yet of a gallery, pulpit, and the celebrant as being on "the north *side* of the altar."[93]

So much for the practice[94] which the Revisers found in actual existence when the "north side" rubric came up for final consideration. Of the bishops, no fewer than fifteen had been parties to the passing of the canon of 1640 above cited, viz., Juxon, Pierce, Wren, Skinner, Roberts, Warner, and Duppa in the upper house, and Sheldon, Hacket, Ironside, Griffith, Frewen, King, Laney, and Lloyd, who (in 1640) had been members of the lower house of Canterbury Convocation.[95] Brian Walton, the learned author of the Polyglott, who as Bp. of Chester took part in the Savoy Conference, had been articled in Parliament for placing his table 'Altarwise.'[96] Of the other divines who represented what might be called the "Conservative party" at the Savoy Conference, Heylin and Cosin held strongly the view that the term "north side" was applicable to the end of the table, and both of them habitually distinguish between the West side and the North side. Pearson, as Archdeacon of Suffolk, had asked in his Visitation, 1639—

"Is the same table placed conveniently, so as the minister may best be heard in his administration, and the greatest number may reverently communicate? *To that end*, doth it ordinarily stand up at the east end of the chancel, where the Altar formerly stood, the ends thereof being placed North and South."[97]

Hacket, another of the Savoy divines, in his Life of Archbishop Williams (p. 109), takes the same line as Durel and L'Estrange. —"For to set the table under the east window of the chancel, is this to set it Altarwise? Verily it is a mere English phrase, or rather English error."

Bp. Sparrow, who took part as one of the 'coadjutors' at the Savoy Conference, described in his 'Rationale,' published in 1655 (p. 381) the arrangements in an ancient Basilican church

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[93] It may be added that Sancroft (who was intimately concerned with the last revision of the Prayer Book at every stage) officiated, as Archbishop, at the coronation of James II., and in the official plan (published with the imprimatur of the Earl Marshal), the 'prospect' of the "east end with the furniture thereof" shows a cushion for the Abp.'s service book at the north end of the table. At the coronation of our own Sovereign, she was directed by a rubric to pass "through the door on the south *side* of the altar," viz., in the Eastern wall *behind* it.—Maskell, Mon. Rit. iii.-138.

[94] In various engravings of this period, the table is represented as placed with its ends north and south, as in Bp. Sparrow's Rationale (1664 and 1668); Domus Carthusiana (1677); Dean Comber's Companion to the Temple (1679); Burnet's Hist. Reformation (1683); which gives a (possibly contemporary) representation of Edward VI. receiving the eucharist from a bishop placed at the north side (*i.e.*, end) of the Table, upon which end the elements are also placed.

[95] Lewis, Ref. Sett., p. 467.

[96] Lathbury, Hist. Pr. Book, p. 185.

[97] Perry, "Lawful Church Ornaments," p. 392.

(in which, by the way, the celebrant stood behind the altar, facing the people), thus:—

"On each *side, or wing,* of the Altar, in the transverse line which makes the figure of the Crosse, stand two side tables."

Bingham's plates show what the bishop meant, and clearly no part of the west front could have been occupied by such credence tables as are described by Sparrow.

The subject of the position of the table does not, however, appear to have come up for discussion at the Savoy Conference, except in the indirect form of an objection made to the (then illegal, though printed) rubric as to the "accustomed place." The 'Ministers' desired that the rubric "may be expressed as in the book established by authority of Parliament," but the bishops answered, "We think it fit that the rubric stand as it is, and all be left to the discretion of the ordinary."[98] Not content, however, with this indirect control, the bishops appear to have designed to make compulsory the *fixture*, of the table at the east end, and for this purpose they attempted to remodel the rubrics at the beginning of the Communion office, in imitation of those of the Scotch liturgy of 1637. This will be readily understood by comparing in parallel columns the Scotch book with Cosin's "Durham Book" from which, by the courtesy of Canon Tristram, we are enabled to reproduce the rubric in facsimile, line for line, and word for word.

Scotch Liturgy (1637).	*Cosin's Durham Book.*
"The holy Table having at the Communion-time a carpet and a fair white linen cloth upon it, with other decent furniture, meet for the high mysteries there to be celebrated, shall stand at the uppermost part of the chancel or church, where the Presbyter, standing at the North-side or end thereof, shall say the Lord's Prayer," &c.	The TABLE alwayes standing in the midst at the upper *end* part of the Chancell (or *of the* Church where a chancell is wanting) & being at all times decently covered with a silke carpet of Silk shall also have at the Comunion time a faire white linnen ∴ paten chalice &c. Cloth spread over it *upon it. with other decent furniture meet for the high Mysteries there to be celebrated.* And the PRIEST standing *side or end* at the North end of ye table shall say the Lord's Prayer with the Collect following.

[98] Card. Conf., pp. 314-351.

Here it will be noticed[99] that the rubric, as written out by Cosin proposed to prescribe the "north *end*," but that on second thought, he had substituted "side or end." Sancroft's book (in the Bodleian), which is a "fair copy" of Cosin's with still later recensions, had (as Mr. Parker tells us)[100] a small blank space left for one or other of the two words, which ever might ultimately be preferred (but *not* for both), so that both the word 'side' and the explanatory "(or end)," which Sancroft enclosed in a parenthesis, had to be squeezed into the gap in *smaller* writing. At a yet later stage the following rubric seems to have been agreed upon in Convocation:—

"¶ *The Table at the Communion time having a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the* [*most convenient place in the upper end of the Chancel (or of the body of the Church where there is no Chancel)*] *And the priest standing on the north* [*part*] *of the table*," *&c.*

In these words the rubric was accordingly written out in the MS. Prayer Book signed by the two Convocations, and in the black letter Prayer Book of 1636, in which the alterations made by Convocation were marked up. Both changes were duly noted in that list of 'Alterations' prefixed to the Government photozincograph, which, it is believed, was originally written by Pearson about Dec. 15th, 1661, for the use of the King in Council. Had the rubric remained as thus altered, it would have made the removal of the table "at Communion time" illegal; and it is a strong proof of the Laudian sympathies of the Convocation of 1661 that such a rubric should have been enacted by them. But a higher Power interfered. In Sancroft's handwriting, the old wording of the rubric of Edward's *Second* Prayer Book has been written between the lines of the manuscript 'annexed' to the Statute of Uniformity, and the words noted above in brackets were struck out with the pen; corresponding alterations being of course made in the printed black letter book of 1636.[101]

What was the meaning of this reversal at the last moment of the proposed change in the language of the rubric? The probability is that the King in Council, fearing to throw an apple of discord among churchmen, refused to sanction any alteration which might lead to a renewal of the old conflict in country parishes, where the people had been familiarised with the practice of placing the table at communion time in the

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[99] Canon Tristram is responsible for the above extract only down to the word "celebrated." The latter part is taken from Mr. Parker's Hist. Revis., p. 182.

[100] Hist. Revis., p. 182.

[101] See Fourth Report of Rit. Commission, p. 17. Lord Selborne, "Notes on the Liturgy," p. 67, shows that the correction was probably first made in the printed book.

midst of the Church. The proposed change of north 'side' into north 'part' had, no doubt, been designed to prevent a renewal of the Williams-Smart contention as to the placing of the table. We know exactly the meaning which was attached by the leading revisers to this word 'part.' In the Latin versions of the Prayer Book by Haddon, in 1560, Vautroller, 1574, Mockett, 1617, and Durel, 1670 (as in that of 1703 and 1865), as also in Bp. Andrewes' "Form of Consecration of a Church or Chapel," A.D. 1620, the word 'side' was always rendered 'partem.' Bp. Wren argued "in 2 Eliz. when they best understood their own meaning, the Queen causing the liturgy to be translated into Latin, the rubric before the Communion Service reads it *Ad septentrionalem mensæ partem stans*, and not *Ad septentrionale latus*, so that North-part, North-side, and North-end were all one."[102] In his suggestions for revision, written in 1660, Wren proposed to say simply, "the priest standing at the north of the table."[103] Heylin, who was a Savoy Commissioner, and was consulted constantly during the last revision,[104] said, "I presume that no man of reason can deny, but that the northern end or side, call it which you will, is *pars septentrionalis*, the northern *part*."[105]

It is clear, therefore, that by north 'part' they merely intended the north 'side or end.' Yet a little reflection would show that *any* change of terms would be impolitic as seeming to admit that there had been force in the Smart-Williams contention; and, moreover, the word 'part' would be likely to introduce a fresh crop of ambiguities, sanctioning even such a position of the celebrant as that advocated by the Non-conformist clergy at Lincoln Cathedral in 1886, than which nothing could be more foreign to the wishes of any churchman in 1661. For a like reason the word 'side' was retained in the proposed revision of 1689, and by the disestablished Church of Ireland in 1877, because it secured entire freedom as to the arrangement and placing of the table, provided only that the officiant have the table to the South of him. Every 'side' is a 'part,' though not every 'part' is a 'side'; and every end is 'a side,' though not every side is an 'end.' The genus ('side') is wider than the species ('end'). Hence Cosin's proposal to change the word side into 'end,' was wisely rejected, as tending to restrict the liberty which had been enjoyed since the year 1552.

We have shown already that during the two years from May, 1660, till May 19th, 1662, when the Act of Uniformity passed,

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[102] Parentalia, p. 75.

[103] Jacobson's Fragments, p. 74.-cf. 75, 83. Duport's Greek version of 1665, dedicated to Abp. Sheldon, had 'Ο ἱερευς πρὸς τὰ βόρεια τῆς Τραπέζης ἑστώς. The modern Greek of 1821 has Ο ιερευς στεκομενος κατα το προς τον βορεα μερος της τραπεζης.

[104] Barnard's Life, p. 181.

[105] "Coale from the Altar," p. 24.

the tables in the churches were placed indifferently either way, and there is no room to doubt that the phrase "north side" was designedly retained as being applicable to either position of the table. Shepherd in his "Elucidation of the Common Prayer." (1798), p. lix., says that at the Restoration "no positive injunctions concerning these matters were enforced by authority." At any rate, it is quite certain that 'side' was not then supposed to exclude 'end,' for immediately after the issue of the new Prayer Book of 1662 we have the following official inquiries put forth by its framers.

Bishop Wren, than whom no man stood higher in the esteem of the Prime Minister, Lord Clarendon,[106] at whose house ('Ely House,') the Revision Committee met, and whose suggestions for the revision of the Prayer Book were adopted in some two hundred instances,[107] pointedly refers, in his Visitation Articles, 1662, to the "Feast of St. Bartholomew *last*," and "The *late* Act of Uniformity," and asks

"Is the same table placed conveniently, so as the minister may be best heard in his administration, and the greatest number may reverently communicate? *To that end* doth it ordinarily stand up at the east end of the chancel, where the altar in former times stood, the ends thereof being placed north and south?" (*Rit. Rep. App.* 557-2.)

Again, Archdeacon Pory, an active member of the Revision Committee of Convocation and the official editor of the new "Prayer for Parliament," in his Articles for Middlesex refers to the service for May 29th, which was not issued till May 2nd, 1662, *i.e.*, nearly *four months after* the Prayer Book had been subscribed by Pory himself as a member of Convocation.[108] He, too, demands whether the table is set "as appointed by the Canon" of 1640, and adds, "the Minister standing as he is appointed at the north side, or end of the table when he prepares to celebrate the Holy Communion, and calling on those who do intend to communicate to draw near and take that Holy Sacrament," &c.,—words which occur, be it observed, only *after* the Consecration prayer.[109] "Placed at the east end of your chancel, with the ends north and south," was the official direction given in 1671 by another of the revisers, Lucy, Bishop of St. David's.[110] The inventory of Bishop Cosin's chapel made in 1667, included "two Prayer Books, two kneeling stools for the north and south *parts* of the altar,"[111] which again illus-

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[106] Kennet's Register, pp. 15, 21, 27.

[107] See CHURCH INTELLIGENCER, vol. iii., p. 129.

[108] Dr. Lewis says Pory's Visitation was held in August, 1662. Ref. Sett., p. 494. Mr. T. W. Perry contends that Pory's Articles *must* be earlier than the Prayer Book because they ask for catechising "before Evening Prayer." But Henchman in 1664, and Barlow in 1679, have the same enquiry (Rit. Rep. App., 632-v., 645-v.); while Sandys in 1571 had asked for catechising "before or *at* Evening Prayer" (Brit. Mus. 698 $\frac{h}{30}$ 20). Mr. Perry's test is therefore worthless, except as evidence of the 'animus imponentis.'

[109] Rit. Rep. App., 625-6, 629-9.

[110] Rit. Rep. App., 615.

[111] Cosin Corr. Surtees Soc., vol. 55.

trates the use of the word 'part' as equivalent to end. That Cosin preferred the 'end' is shown by his proposal to substitute that word in the rubric; and he, like Wren, habitually distinguished between the north 'side' and the west front of the table.[112] Even Mr. Walton admits that "in the numerous post-restoration London Churches, the table-wise fashion was never introduced."[113] Now these facts are wholly irreconcilable with the theory that the revisers of the Prayer Book in 1662 insisted that communion tables should be placed with their ends east and west, or that the word 'side' was expressly designed to ensure that equivocal advantage. As Bp. Chr. Wordsworth said "the rubric was purposely framed so as to suit both positions of the table." For both positions were then in use. Within the next half century, however, the lengthwise arrangement had almost disappeared. In 1681 Barnard said that "in most country churches, to this day, the table is *set* in the hither end of the chancel;"[114] but as the Elizabethan chancel screens had been destroyed by order of Parliament, the crosswise placing of the table would then be practicable enough. Bennet, in 1708, Nicholls, in 1709, and Wheatly, in 1710, all use the words north 'side' and 'end' as convertible terms. Nicholls, commenting on "*the chancels shall remain*," said, "Since the Restoration . . . the dispute has very happily died; and the tables have generally been set altar-wise, and railed in without any opposition thereto." Archdeacon Sharp, in 1753, referring to the Heylin-Williams controversy, said "the dispute is now dead, and it is to be hoped will never be revived."[115]

Until the reign of Charles I. no one attached any importance to the lengthwise, or crosswise arrangement of the table; and at the Restoration, as we have seen, the word 'side' was retained with the deliberate intention of leaving that point entirely free. There is not in the statute book a plainer rule or a more simple direction than that which requires the priest to stand "at the north side of the table." It is therefore the duty of all loyal churchmen to insist on the observance of a rule which has its foundations not merely in the distinctive traditions of the English Reformation, but in the fundamental distinction between God's sacramental gift to man, and man's self-devised offering to God; between the function of "an ambassador *for* Christ," and that of a pretended mediator and ambassador *to* Christ; in short between the Sacrifice of the Mass and "the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion."

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[112] See Cosin's Works, iv.-390, v.-161. High Commission of Durham, Surtees Soc., p. 218. Cosin Corr., ii.-113.

[113] Letter to Carter, p. 63, first edition.

[114] Life of Heylin, p. 110.

[115] Treatise on the Rubric, p. 69.

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6th Thousand.]

ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE

RESPECTING THE

ORNAMENTS RUBRIC OF 1662.

LORD SELBORNE refers in his work on 'Disestablishment,' to the weight attached by some Church-folk to "controversial arguments against the judicial decisions" of the Supreme Court of Appeal as to the Ornaments Rubric.

It may be of use, therefore, to show from *contemporary* writers, what the meaning of the rubric was understood to be by its own framers, and by those who at the time had the best means of knowing. It is believed that the following witnesses have not before been cited. Certainly they are less known than they deserve to be.

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DR. JOHN DUREL, Chaplain to Charles II., and Dean of Windsor, was the intimate friend of Bp. Cosin, who preached his ordination sermon and entrusted to his care the publication of "Cosin on Transubstantiation" (to which Durel wrote the original preface), as well as the office of executor after the bishop's death.

To Durel the duty of translating the new Prayer Book into French, was (in 1662) officially confided by King Charles II.; and it has been ingeniously argued that Durel was acting under the authority of Convocation, when (in 1670) he also translated the same book into Latin.[1] What concerns us now, however, is the fact that Durel submitted for correction the proof-sheets of his "*Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*," from which we are about to quote, to Sancroft, who alone, (as shown in THE CHURCH INTELLI-

[1] Marshall's "Latin Prayer Book of Dean Durel," p. 11; Lord Selborne inclines to the same opinion, "Notes on the Liturgy," p. 73.

GENCER, iii.-117, 131,) was concerned with the revision of the Prayer Book at *every* stage of its progress, and whose knowledge of the facts was, therefore, superior to that of any man living. On Jan. 25, 1666, Durel writes to Sancroft, "I send you withal some sheets of my *Vindiciæ*, which I beseech you to peruse and to amend at your leisure." On Feb. 25, 1669, Durel again writes to Sancroft, "I am exceedingly beholding both to your worthy self and to the worthy judge of the Prerogative (whom I will thank by letter, &c.) for the trouble you have been pleased to take about my papers, and for the rectifying of my mistakes."[2]

During that same year, Durel published the *Vindiciæ*, in which he calls Laud "a blessed Martyr of Christ" (p. 37). Durel had gone into exile as an adherent of the fallen cause of the Stuarts, and his writings are chiefly in controversy with Puritans. It is clear, therefore, that he was entirely free from any sort of "Low Church" bias.

Before proceeding to quote from his *Vindiciæ*, let us recall to mind that the Ritualistic contention is, that in 1662, Bp. Cosin and his colleagues deliberately intended to go behind the Canons of 1604, the Royal Advertisements of 1566, and the Injunctions of 1559, in order to re-enact the ornaments of the "second year of King Edward VI.," *i.e.*, of A.D. 1548: in other words, to make the wearing of alb and chasuble binding upon every celebrant, and the wearing of "albs with tunacles" binding upon all assistant ministers at Holy Communion. It is sometimes misrepresented that the surplice and hood were permitted as a 'minimum.' But that cannot possibly be true; for not only was the doctrine of maximum and minimum (or variety of *any* kind as to vestments) repudiated and condemned by every bishop; but in no case either under the first Prayer Book, or during the year 1548, would the wearing of a surplice and hood by a presbyter, when officiating or assisting at Holy Communion, have been tolerated. It would have been a direct breach of the then existing law. Albs to the *exclusion* of surplices, and chasubles

[2] Marshall, p. 17, 19.

to the *exclusion* of hoods, were alone permitted at celebrations, during the "second year of King Edward VI."

In his "fifteenth Chapter," Dean Durel is dealing with the objections made by the Puritans to the surplice, and after enumerating the Mass garments (amice, stole, alb, girdle, maniple, chasuble), he continues (p. 123):—

"There is beside these a dress common to all clerks in the Church, called a surplice, older than the rest, and of greater simplicity too: which alone (as it seems to me from Chrysostom and Jerome) the ministers of the Church formerly used. But the surplice had for some ages grown of so little account in the Church of Rome, that priests when celebrating may never use, nor dare to employ it, save with an alb drawn over it, as being held to be a *common* dress. For they use it only in reciting mattins and evensong and in executing other minor offices; and it is plainly distinguished from the *sacred* dresses as may be seen in the rubrics in Gavanti, and in Arnald the abbreviator of Gavanti (on the rubrics, Tit. 6)—in these words 'If one lower' [in rank] 'than a sub-deacon wishes to sing the Epistle, let him not put on the *sacred* vestures, but only a surplice.' Nor do I find there anywhere that it was consecrated by any form of Benediction. . . The Reformers of the Church when they came to the correction of abuses in Church vestures, held the same path to which they had deemed it right to adhere in other matters pertaining to religion. . . In the first place, therefore, they decided that all ecclesiastics from the highest to the lowest, when going forth in public should be clad handsomely and suitably by using a longer tunic and a cloak or toga of black, such as the Roman 'secular' priests (as they call them), and barristers and senators among the French use at the present day. . . As to what relates to Church vestures (I call those 'Church' vestures which are vulgarly termed '*sacred*,' and which may be so called in a sense not bad—not as having or as producing any sort of holiness, but as used by sacred persons in the performance of sacred offices)—they desired these to be reformed in such wise, that the whole entire theatrical Mass-gear (such as before described) has been clean removed from the Church of England.[3] For, first of all, a dress for the bishops was devised, differing from that used by the prelates of the Roman Church, grave indeed, and becoming, and, so far as can be ascertained, approximating to the ornaments of the ancient bishops, yet simple and modest, and far removed from every appearance of superstition and pride. For,

[3] Choragium missaticum universum . . ab Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ penitus sublatum est."

having laid aside the gown (*positâ togâ*) which is their upper dress in common life, they put on a linen tunic with long sleeves, and loose, which descends a little below the knee, and over this they wear a black dress entirely of silk (*alam holosericam*) without sleeves, and open in front so as to show the linen sleeves, and (in front) the linen tunic also. This upper dress seems to be the *colobium* of the ancient bishops. But all the rest of the ministers of the Church when about to perform sacred rites, likewise the Canons and choristers of cathedral and collegiate churches every day, and the Heads and Fellows in both universities on Sundays and festivals, were to wear those long and thin loose linen garments, commonly called surplices. For since for many ages past that dress has grown to be of so little account in the Church of Rome, that priests when celebrating Mass are not allowed to use it (save as aforesaid) and its use may be extended even to bell-ringers; it is nevertheless true that the ministers of Christ were formerly content with it, and that it alone sufficed for distinction, and for that honesty and decency which those who take part in divine worship should, as far as possible, keep in view even in matters of dress. . . If there be any other kinds of dresses or ornaments besides these . . . they cannot be properly considered as ecclesiastical" (p. 126).

He refers to the thirtieth Injunction of Elizabeth, as enjoining the surplice in 1559 (p. 127).

In his 16th chapter, Durel deals with that letter of Zanchy's of which a translation is given in the "Zurich Letters" of the Parker Society, Vol. II., p. 339. Abp. Grindal (after consultation with Abp. Parker, and with Cecil, the Prime Minister, and others,) decided to suppress Zanchy's letter which never reached the hands of Queen Elizabeth. Grindal himself wrote to Zanchy telling him that he was utterly misinformed as to the facts. [*See* Grindal's Remains, p. 338.] Zanchy's letter related to the Royal Advertisements of 1566, which in 1571, were again being actively enforced. Queen Elizabeth's letter, dated Aug. 20, 1571 (referring to her former letter of Jan. 25, 1565, addressed to Parker, "*as* the Metropolitan of our realm, and as the principal person in our Commission for Causes Ecclesiastical"), is given in the Parker Correspondence, p. 386. [*See also* The Church Intelligencer, iii.-104.]

Replying, then, to Zanchy's abortive attack upon the Royal Advertisements (of which, by the way, Canon MacColl makes such a ludicrous misuse), Durel says:—

"But what the 'impious' (if by 'impious' he means the Papists) could hope for from a law by which the entire theatrical Mass-gear is cast out beyond the pale of the Church, and the use of the most simple as well as seemly and becoming dresses is restored, the man must be a very lynx to perceive."

Again, he says (p. 156), the Reformers

"Were not of opinion that a *distinction* of dresses should be retained from the first; the surplice not being even numbered among priestly vestures by the Papists." Again (p. 159), "That ornamentation is plainly not the same as is used by the bishops of the Roman Church. The use of white garments in the administration of sacred rites was by the first reformers of the Church of England under Edward VI., Cranmer, Ridley, &c. (blessed confessors and martyrs for Christ) retained and instituted and by a decree of all orders of the entire realm established by the authority of the Crown, and thenceforward always observed by the reformed clergy, and by Elizabeth after her accession to the crown—*that is more than ten years before Zanchy wrote*—was restored to the Church of England with the approbation of the same clergy."

Now as Zanchy wrote on Sept. 10, 1571, "ten years before" would bring us to 1561, and "*more than* ten years before" must refer to the royal Injunctions of 1559, issued "by Eliz. after her accession to the crown," to which Durel had before referred, and which directed the "messengers and ministers of Almighty God" to use in all assemblies "*in the Church*" such garments as were received in the "*latter* year of King Edward VIth," *i.e.*, the "seventh year" of Edward VI. when the '*Second*' Prayer Book was *exclusively* in use.

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From the above extracts we learn (1) that the 'distinction' of dresses between those for use at Holy Communion "and at all *other* times in his ministration" (*i.e.*, that *every* 'distinctive' dress for Holy Communion) was then disallowed; (2) that the 30th Injunction of Elizabeth in 1559, *ordered the surplice only*, which accords exactly with the result of an exhaustive analysis of the history of those Injunctions in The Church Intelligencer for August 1886; (3) that the surplice had been selected because it was *not* one of the 'consecrated' Mass-vestments; and (4) that the dress of a bishop was "not the same as is used by the bishops of the Roman Church."

Ritualists make fun of the black and white dress used for more than three centuries by Anglican bishops. The *Church Times* calls it 'Magpie'—a witticism borrowed, (like many of their 'arguments,') from the Elizabethan Puritans who in a "Part of a Register" (p. 572), "in a friendly caveat to Bp. Sands," A.D. 1567, describe him as 'Maggot-a-pie.' In the same book (p. 62) "A. Gilbe" recites among his objections to the Church of England: "No. 20. The Popish apparel of the archbishop and bishop, the black chimere, or sleeveless coat, put upon the fine white rotchet."[4] This was the out-door and official dress of the bishops (worn also in the House of Lords and in Convocation), viz., the rochet and chimere. Thus, Abp. Parker, *after* his consecration, was clad "'in a white *episcopal* surplice and a black silk 'chimere' as they call it."[4a] Bps. Barlow and Scory similarly went abroad "episcopalibus amictibus." Grindal preached at Paul's Cross in "rochet and cymar," on March 3, 1560, as did Scory on March 10, Jewell on March 17, and Barlow on March 24, each being in "ys rochet and chimmer." So, too, Bp. Scambler on Feb. 21, 1561.[4b] Abp. Parker, with the Bps. of Lincoln and Rochester, and his own 'Suffragan' officiated before the Queen at Canterbury in 1575, in "our chimmers and rochets."[5] In October, 1633, a royal warrant directed the Scotch bishops to wear always "a rochet and sleeves" in church, as well as at meetings of the kirk session and Privy Council. They were also to have "a chymer, that is a satin or taffeta gown without lining or sleeves, to be worn over their whites, at the time of their consecration."[6] That conventional dress (which had never been worn at Mass) has been used for more than three centuries by the bishops of the Church of England. It was not easy to describe it in Latin, but we give, for the sake of comparison with the Victorian Use, Durel's description of the dress worn by those very bishops who re-

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[4] This spelling of the word as 'Rotchet' is found also (in Sancroft's writing) in the Ordinal of 1662.

[4a] Cardwell, Doc. Ann., i.-246.

[4b] Milman's "Annals of St. Paul's," p. 275. Machyn's Diary, pp. 226-51.

[5] Parker, Corr., p. 475.

[6] Dr. Sprott's "Scottish Liturgies of James I. &c.," p. xliv.

modelled the Ornaments Rubric, as it stands in our present Prayer Book.

"Primò enim episcoporum vestitus excogitatus est diversus ab eo quo utuntur Ecclesiæ Romanæ pontifices. . . . Nam positâ togâ, qui eorum vestitus communis superior est, tunicam ex lino byssino manicatam laxamque, quæ paululum infra genua dimittitur, sumunt, eique superinduunt alam nigram holosericam absque manicis atque anterius apertam, adeo ut byssinæ manicæ et ipsa tunica per anteriora, conspiciantur."

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Sancroft, who revised Durel's book, became chaplain to Bp. Cosin on Nov. 18th, 1660. As secretary to the committee which drew up the draft revision during its *first* stage, Sancroft entered up all the final changes in the so-called "Cosin's Book," at Durham. The "Bodleian Book" embodying the *second* stage of the revision, is exclusively in Sancroft's handwriting. The MS. additions in the black-letter book of 1636 (which was photo-zincographed for the Ritual Commission) were made by Sancroft. Lastly, in the manuscript 'annexed' to the Act of Uniformity (in nine places) the *final* alterations in the known handwriting of Sancroft are believed to have been ordered by the King in Council. Thus it will be seen that Sancroft was "in at" the revision of the Prayer Book at every stage of that revision from first to last.

Now it happens that in the Bodleian Library beside the Prayer Book of 1634 (which was described in The Church Intelligencer, Vol. III., p. 131) there is another Prayer Book, dated 1684, containing MSS. notes also by him. On the fly-leaf opposite the "Ornaments Rubric" Abp. Sancroft has written—

> "*Ornaments of the Ministers. Dr. Grove's Persuasive to Communion with the Church of England*, 27. *A Letter to a friend relating to the present Convocation, p.* 10."

In the two publications here named the *only* 'Ornament' to which any reference is made in either is the surplice.

For a knowledge of this fact we are indebted to Mr. Kennion, and it has since been verified independently.

Two years before this Prayer Book of 1684 had been printed, Sancroft, as Archbishop, had inquired in his Visitation,

"Doth your Parson, Vicar, or Curate read Divine Service on all Sundays and Holy-days; and the Litany (at least) on every Wednesday and Friday; and publicly administer the Holy Sacraments of Baptism *and the Eucharist*, and perform all other Ministerial Offices and Duties, in such manner and form, as is directed by the Book of Common Prayer, lately established, and the Act of Uniformity therewith published, and the three Offices before mentioned without addition, *diminution*, or *alteration?* And doth he in those his Ministrations wear *the* Surplice, with a Hood or Tippet befitting his Degree?"[7]

Sancroft repeated this in 1686, and in 1688 he directed the bishops of his Province to charge their clergy to "take all opportunities of convincing them'—Protestant Dissenters—'that the bishops of this Church are really and sincerely irreconcilable enemies to the errors, superstitions, idolatries and tyrannies of the Church of Rome."[8]

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Sancroft's Visitation Articles above cited explain another curious fact. The words of our existing "Ornaments Rubric" are found for the first time in Cosin's writing, in the "Durham Book." But after the words "King Edward VI." followed "*that is to say*—." Cosin had left a line to indicate an omission to be filled up by the revision committee. Afterwards were added the words, "*A Surplice, &c.*" This state of the text is vouched by Canon Tristram, Canon Swainson, and the Rev. T. W. Perry—yet, oddly enough, neither Mr. James Parker, in his Hist. Revis., p. 129, nor Dr. Barrow, in the Anglo-Catholic Library edition of "Cosin's Works," make any mention of the suggestive, '&c.'! What did it imply?

The first clue to the meaning is that Sancroft had written under the newly-added wording of the draft rubric, "*these are ye words of ye Act itself, v. supra*," *i.e.* the Act of Uniformity of Elizabeth printed at the beginning of the book. In the "Bodleian Book" also, Sancroft has written—"*these are the words of the Act itself, sec. penult. ut supra.*" The "penultimate section" being the one under which the Royal Advertisements of 1566 had been issued.

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[7] Rit. Com. Report, ii., App. p. 654. [8] Doc. Ann., ii.-325.

We think it can be shown to a moral certainty that this reference to the penultimate section "of the Act itself" was supposed to involve and include the Advertisements issued under the powers given in that penultimate section. The test is a very simple one. If the standard of the Advertisements were the one to be followed, the surplice and academical hood would *alone* be authorised, and the '&c.' *must* therefore refer to the "tippet and hood." In proof that this was the recognized 'Use,' we are able to call as witnesses nearly *every Bishop who sat on the bench* at the time of the last Revision of the Prayer Book.

At the head of these, stands the aged

Abp. Juxon whose Articles issued in 1663, were overlooked in the Report of the Ritual Commission.[9] The Primate asked—

> "Doth your Parson, Vicar, or Curate, saying public prayers, ministering Sacraments, or other Rites of the Church, wear a decent Surplice with a hood (if he be a graduate) agreeable to his degree in the University?"

In his Articles of 1640 he had relied upon "the Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth."[10] The other archbishop,

Frewen had issued in the year 1662, Articles for the diocese and province of York which also escaped the Ritual Commissioners. He asked—

> "Have you . . . a decent Surplice, one or more, for your Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Lecturer, to wear in the time of public ministration?" Again, "Doth he wear *the* Surplice while he performs that office, *or other* offices mentioned in the common Prayer Book?"[11]

Next to these we may place the bishop who presided both at the "Savoy Conference" (owing, perhaps, to the accident that he was himself then "Master of the Savoy") and in Convocation (owing to the great age of Abp. Juxon). The Ritual Commission give no Articles of Abp. Sheldon's, but Cardwell publishes his "Letter concerning the King's Directions to the Clergy,"[12] 1670, in which

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[9] A copy is in the British Museum, '5155. c. 54.'
[10] Rit. Rep., p. 591. [11] Archdeacon Harrison on the Rubrics, p. 176.
[12] Doc. Ann., ii.-278. Compare Bp. Gibson, "Syn. Angl.," p. 242.

Abp. Sheldon charges his clergy that

> "In their churches they do decently and solemnly perform the Divine Service by reading the prayers of the Church, as they are appointed and ordered in and by the Book of Common Prayer, without addition to or *diminishing* from the same, *or varying, either in substance or ceremony* from the order and method, which by the said book is set down, wherein I hear and am afraid too many do offend; and that in the time of such their officiating, they ever make use of, and wear *their priestly* habit, *the* surplice and hood."

Wren deserves to be mentioned next, because at his house, "Ely House," an important stage of the revision was perfected, and to him is due a larger number of alterations than to any other of the bishops. *See* The Church Intelligencer, iii.-129. In 1641, he prepared for Parliament a statement that the Advertisements of Elizabeth "are authorized by law, 1 Eliz. c. 2, *sec. penult.*"[13]—words which almost decide the meaning of Sancroft's "*these are the words of the Act itself sec. penult. ut supra.*" Nothing is more likely than that these words were dictated by Wren as Chairman of the Committee meeting at "Ely House." In 1662 Wren simply repeated the language of his former Articles of 1636.

> "Doth your minister and curate, at all times . . . in administering the Holy Sacraments . . . and all other offices of the Church, duly observe the orders and rites prescribed, *without omission, alteration,* or addition of *anything?* And doth he, in performing all and *every* of these, wear *the* surplice duly, and never omit the wearing of the same, nor of his hood, if he be a graduate?"[14]

Cosin had asked as Archdeacon in 1627—

> "Doth he, as well in reading or singing of service as in administering of any of the sacraments . . observe all the orders, rites and ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, in such manner and form only as is there enjoined, *without any omission,* or addition, *or alteration whatsoever?*
>
> "Doth he . . when any sacrament is to be administered or any other rite or ceremony of the Church solemnized, use and wear *the* surplice, without excuse or pretence whatsoever? And doth he never omit the same?"[15]

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[13] Parentalia, p. 75.
[14] Rit. Rep., p. 559-8, cf. 561, foot-note.
[15] Cosin's Works, ii.-8, 9.

After the New Prayer Book had been enacted he visited his diocese in 1662, asking

"Have you a large and decent surplice (one or more) for the minister to wear at *all times of his public ministration in the Church?*

"Have you . . a hood or tippet for the minister to wear over his surplice, if he be a graduate?

"Doth he always at the reading or celebrating any divine office in your church or chappel, constantly wear *the* surplice, and other his ecclesiastical habit according to his *degree?* And doth he never omit it?" [16]

Both in 1662 and in 1668 Cosin's only question under this head to his Cathedral staff was

"Does every one that is bound to come to church put on his habit of surplice, tippet and hood according to his degree?" [17]

Hacket, Bp. of Lichfield, in 1662, asks—

"Hath he read the Book of Common Prayer as it is enjoined by the late Act of Uniformity for Public Prayer, administration of the sacraments, &c., on some Sunday before the four-and-twentieth of August last past, and did, and doth he, wear *the* surplice while he performed that office, and other offices mentioned in that Common Prayer Book?" [18]

Ironside, Bp. of Bristol, 1662, asks—

"Doth your minister, when he readeth publique prayers or administer the sacrament, wear a comly surplice with sleeves? And if he be a graduate, such hood as by the orders of the University is agreeable to his degree?" [19]

Earle [?], Bp. of Worcester, 1662—

"Have you a fair surplice and other ornaments, according to his degree, for your minister to use in his public administrations, only for outward decency, order, and distinction?" [20]

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The next series of Visitation Articles has a special history of its own. On June 21st, 1661, the Upper House of Convocation appointed a committee to prepare a standard book of Articles; and on February 2nd, 1662, this task was further relegated to

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[16] Rit. Rep., p. 601. [17] Granville Correspondence, Surtees Soc. i.-256, 270.
[18] Rit. Rep., p. 609.
[19] Rit. Rep. ,p. 614. [20] Rit. Rep., p. 604. See Note 29, below.

Cosin. On March 8th, 1662, Cosin, "according to the command given him and the charge committed to him, introduced and delivered into the hands of the Lord President," Sheldon, his draft Articles, and "it was unanimously agreed that the same Articles should be sent to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury' (Juxon) 'for his perusal and due consideration of them, and for his emendation, reformation, and correction of them."[21] On June 26th, 1662, Skinner, Bp. of Oxford, wrote to Sheldon to inquire about them, saying, "I well hoped to have seen that uniform book of Articles (viz., for Visitations) before this day, resting assured that no pretences could take of [f?] your lordship's resolution from what so much concerns the honour and peace of the Church."[22]

It seems probable that Cosin's Articles, quoted above, represent the draft as originally sent to Juxon, and that the series published by the Ritual Commission, p. 615, are the same Articles after their correction by Juxon. Morley was confirmed Bp. of Winchester on May 14th, 1662, just five days before the statute enacting the new Prayer Book received the Royal Assent.

Morley's Articles were also used by nine other bishops in 1662, viz., Bps. Piers, King, Ward, Croft, Sanderson, Lloyd, Skinner, Laney, and Lucy, as well as by various archdeacons in 1662, and by other Ordinaries in after years. This gives special importance to their 'uniform' inquiry.

> "Doth your minister at the reading or celebrating *any* Divine office in the church or chappel wear *the* surplice, together with such other scholastical habit as is suitable to his degree?"[23]

Henchman, Bp. of Salisbury, however, preferred to issue Articles of his own. He asked, in 1662,

> "Doth your Minister reading Divine service and administering the Sacraments or other Rites of the Church, wear *the* surplice *according to the Canons?*"[24]

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[21] Hist. Revis., p. 463. Lord Selborne's 'Notes,' p. 53. Swainson's "Rubrical Question," pp. 33, 113. Droop's Ed. Vest., p. 76, note.

[22] Tanner MS. quoted in Cosin Corr., Surtees Soc., ii.-xvi.

[23] Rit. Rep., 616-vii.

[24] Rit. Rep., 611. Kennet, p. 771, shows that Henchman's Visitation was in September, 1662.

Those last words are very important, and may be compared with Bp. Juxon's Articles of 1663 before mentioned. Juxon asked—

> "Art. XXII. Doth your Parson, Vicar, or Curate reade in your parish-church or chapel the Canons of the Church upon some Sundays or holy days in the afternoon before Divine service; so dividing the same that one half may be read one day and the other half the other day?"

The Canons of 1604 were reprinted in 1660, and again in July, 1662, they "were now published for the due observance of them by His Majesty's authority."[25] Cosin, Henchman, Ironside, and the twenty-two Ordinaries cited in Note 23 insist on each Parish having "the Book of the Canons."

It is clear therefore that Abp. Juxon and Bp. Henchman (who refers to the Book of Common Prayer "newly established and set forth") knew nothing of the theory that the Canons of 1604 could have been repealed by the Act of Uniformity.

Reynolds, in November, 1662, merely asks

> "Have you a large Surplice for the use of the Minister in his public Administrations?"[26]

Griffith, Bp. St. Asaph, asks in general terms whether the Minister duly observes the Orders, Rites and Ceremonies "as in the said Book of Common Prayer is enjoyned?" But he asks for catechizing "*before* Evening Prayer," showing that he held the 59th Canon to be still in force and unrepealed in 1662.[27]

Nicholson, Bp. Gloucester, at his Visitation in 1661, had asked

> "Doth your Minister, at the reading or celebrating of *any* solemn divine office in the church or chapel wear *the* Surplice?"[28]

He calls it a "comely large surplice." But his later articles have not been met with.

Gauden, Bp. of Exeter (afterwards Bp. of Worcester), in his

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[25] Kennett's Chronicle, p. 725.
[26] Rit. Rep., 619-vi.
[27] Rit. Rep., 607-11
[28] Harrison on Rubrics, p. 173.

"Considerations touching the Liturgy,"[29] describes the ceremonies '*retained*' as "the cross (in Baptism), surplice, standing up at the creed, or kneeling at the Lord's Supper."

Duppa, died March 26th, 1662, before issuing any Articles: and the bishopric of Sodor and Man was vacant till 1665.

Sterne, of Carlisle, Roberts, of Bangor, Fearne, of Chester, and Warner, of Rochester, are the only missing links in this episcopal catena. There is no reason to think that they differed from the rest of their brethren. Gunning, who had been a Savoy Commissioner, asked in 1679 for "a large and decent Surplice for the Minister to wear at *all* times of his public Ministrations."[30]

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In the Lower House of Convocation in 1661 the three most influential and active members were Archdeacons Pory, Pearson, and Sparrow.

Pory, in August, 1662, asks—

> "Have you a comely decent Surplisse with sleeves for the use of your Minister in saying the public prayers, and ministering the sacraments, and other rites of the Church; together with an university hood according to the degree of your said minister?"[31]

He refers by name to "the Advertisements of Q. Elizabeth."

Pearson, when Bp. of Chester in 1674, inquired—

> "Doth he make use of *the* Surplice when he reads divine service or administers the sacraments?"[32]

Sparrow republished in 1661, 1664, 1668, 1672 (as Bp. of Exeter), 1676, and 1684 (as Bp. of Norwich), the following statement:—

> "The Minister in time of his ministration shall use such ornaments as were in use in the second of King Edward VI., *Rub.* 2, viz.: a Surplice in the ordinary ministration, and a cope in time of

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[29] p. 19. There is a copy in the British Museum, E. $\frac{1050}{6}$: as Earle was not consecrated till Nov. 30th, 1662, it is possible that the Articles assigned to "John, Bp. of Worcester," were Gauden's. Kennet, p. 728, places the Visitation of Worcester in July.

[30] Rit. Rep., 651-8. [31] Rit. Rep., p. 625, 627-3. [32] Rit. Rep., p. 642.

ministration of Holy Communion in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, Queen Elizabeth's Articles set forth in the seventh year of her reign."[33]

Now in all this long line of witnesses there is not one person who could possibly have been ignorant of the meaning of the newly revised "Ornaments Rubric." Nor is there the smallest discrepancy in their testimony. Hence we learn with certainty that—

(1.) "*A Surplice, &c.*," meant a surplice with tippet or hood, "*pro cujusque gradu.*"

(2.) 'THE' surplice is always spoken of as the one universally recognised dress.

(3.) No distinction whatever between the Holy Communion and any "*other* times in his ministration" was recognised or tolerated by any Ordinary. No alb, chasuble, dalmatic or tunicle is anywhere recognised, nor, in fact, did any such then exist so as to be '*retained.*'

(4.) The "*Act itself, v. supra,*" viz., 1 Eliz. c. 2, was regarded as THE standard, of which the newly framed "Ornaments Rubric" of 1662 aspired to be an abridgment, *in virtue of* its employment of the "words of the Act itself, *sec. penult.*" But the Act 1 Eliz., c. 2, was also printed as *part of* the Prayer Book, into which it was now for the first time incorporated; *the authority of Convocation* being superadded to its ancient Parliamentary authority. Instead of being merely prefixed to the *printed* copies of the book by the Government printers for convenience of reference, as in 1559-1661, it was now (1662) included in the Table of Contents, and copied out in the MS. Book 'annexed' to the Act of Uniformity. Hence the Elizabethan Statute has an Ecclesiastical authority equal to that of the rest of the Prayer Book, and is now (with the Canons of 1604) the *sole* legal standard for the "Ornaments of the Minister."

(5.) So far from any dual standard of 'Maximum' and

[33] 'Rationale,' p. 387. The edition of 1684 (the year before his death) instead of being the 'second' as Lord Selborne calls it, was the eighth. And as the 1664 edit. was modified in some points, the persistence of the above quotation is not due to mere accident.

'Minimum' being tolerated, the Visitation Articles everywhere insist upon the absence of *any* 'diminution' or 'variation' from the statutory standard of Ornaments.

(6.) It has been suggested (by Ritualists) that the revising bishops in 1662 wished to open a door for the reintroduction of the abrogated Mass gear, and for that purpose craftily omitted from the "words of the Act itself, *sec. penult*," the concluding words of that section, "*until* other order shall be therein taken," &c.

But this hypothesis would not only blast their character for honest dealing with the Nation and the Parliament which trusted them; it would further show that they were fools as well as knaves, seeing that the statute *containing the omitted words* remained the *primary* authority, and would supplement any defects in their inaccurate summary. The true reason for the omission of the words "*until . . . shall be*," &c., was that they had ceased to be appropriate, seeing that a century had elapsed since the contemplated "other order" *had*, in fact, *been* 'taken.' Hence the removal at the same time from the Elizabethan rubric of the words "*at the time of the Communion, and all* OTHER *times*," and the substitution of "*at* ALL *times*," words by no means synonymous with "at the *several* times of their ministration." Men like Bp. Reynolds, we may feel quite sure, would have been no parties to a wretched trick of the kind suggested above. Cosin, the only man who ever gave ground for suspecting him of having wished it, has been already vindicated in THE CHURCH INTELLIGENCER (Vol. III., pp. 46, 114, 128). Cosin never himself wore alb, tunicle, or chasuble, nor in any public or official act performed by him as 'bishop,' did he ever recognise any standard for Ornaments higher than that of the Canons. The theory and practice of the Ritualists was, therefore, demonstrably unknown to the Church of England at the time when our existing Ornaments Rubric assumed its present shape.

5th Thousand.] 10*d* per dozen, or 6*s* per 100.

THE ADVERTISEMENTS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Dr. Littledale, with characteristic hardihood, wrote in *The Times* of January 26th, 1886, as follows:—

"It is certain, and the Court had the fact laid before it, that these Advertisements were not issued by Queen Elizabeth at all, since Archbishop Parker declares, in a letter to the Prime Minister, Sir William Cecil, on March 28th, 1566, that he had not been able to get the Queen's authority for the Advertisements, which he thought had nothing in them against the law of the realm, and that he had been obliged to assay his own authority in issuing them; while Strype tells us that Cecil's own copy was endorsed with the words 'These not authorized nor published.' Here then is indisputable evidence from the chief personages in Church and State at the time, entirely overthrowing the inferential guesswork with which the Privy Council sought to establish the royal character of these Advertisements."

This statement bristles with mistakes. "Cecil's own copy," which was in MS. only and bore the above "endorsement" made in "1564" (O.S.), was not "The" Advertisements, but was a totally different document from the printed book sent by Archbishop Parker for Cecil's perusal on March 28th, 1566 (N.S.). It was the former, and not the latter which Parker said had failed to gain the Queen's approval; for which very reason it had been in the interval extensively altered. Parker does not say a word about "assaying with his own authority to *issue*" the book, but to *execute* and *administer* the laws which were in force prior to that "issue."

What makes Dr. Littledale's misrepresentation the more culpable is that all his fallacies were carefully unravelled and exposed by the Judicial Committee in that very Ridsdale Judgment which Dr. Littledale has the presumption to censure.

Since that Judgment was delivered, the Camden Society have published a contemporary chronicle by John Stowe, which enables us to fix the date of the Advertisements with tolerable certainty. In Gairdner's "Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles," p. 135, we have the following entry in Stowe's diary:—

"The xxvj day of Marche, in anno 1566, beyng Twesday, ye parsons and mynystars of ye churches in and abought London were (by commaundyment) at Lambethe, before ye Archebyshoppe of Caunterbury and othar of ye cownsell, wher charge was gyven to them to sarve theyr churchis and were theyr aparayll accordyng to ye quens injunctions, or ells to do no sarvyce. And *that same weke or ye begynyng of ye next* came forthe a boke in print subscribyd by ye Archebyshope of Cauntorbury, ye Eyshopps of London, Wynchester, Elii, and dyvers othar, whiche apoynted ye sayd mynistars to were theyre gownes and clokes with standynge colars and corneryd capse, and at theyr servyce to were syrplysys, or els not to mynstar, &ct."

This corresponds with the date fixed in Archbishop Parker's letter of November 15th, 1573, in which he refers Cecil to the "Order taken publicly *this seven years* by Commissioners, according to the statute, that fonts should not be removed." (Parker Corr., 450.)

"Seven years" from 1573 brings us back to 1566; and the allusion was to the direction of the Advertisements, "that the

fonte be not removed, nor that the curate do baptize in parish churches in any basons," &c. [Doc. Ann., I-292.] Mr. James Parker tries to evade this by suggesting that the Order of 1561 may be the one referred to, or that it is a "reference to nothing more than the Rubric"! (Letter to Selborne, pp. 164, 208.) But the Rubric (which says nothing about "removing" fonts) was not an "Order by Commissioners;" and 1561 was not "seven years" before 1573: so that we may reasonably prefer to the ingenuity of Mr. James Parker the candour of the Rev. T. W. Perry, who admits that "the 'Order' here referred to is, no doubt, the direction of the Advertisements." [On Purchas J., p. 70.]

We know also from the very letter referred to by Dr. Littledale as having been sent by Archbishop Parker to Cecil on March 28th, 1566, that the "new printed" book was even on that date "yet stayed" for Cecil's approval. It had been previously sent to him in the rough, on March 12th, 1566. (P. Corr., p. 263). Alterations were then made by Cecil, as, for instance, the penalty of "sequestration, not deprivation," which on March 12th had stood as part of the MS. draft sent to Cecil (*ibid.* 264), was struck out before the book was "new printed," and finally returned to Cecil on March 28th. No penalty whatever was retained in the Advertisements as "issued."

In the form ultimately agreed upon between Cecil and the Metropolitan, the "new printed book" (having been found to agree with the draft previously settled between them) was "issued" (in a formal series of letters to Grindal, Bishop of London, to the Dean of the Arches, and to three Ordinaries of Peculiars) immediately on his getting back the "printed book" from the Queen's Secretary. These letters are all entered in Archbishop Parker's register at Lambeth, vol. i., p. 257, *et seq.* On April 4th, Archbishop Parker writes to Cecil that "my lord of London and I dismissed them all" [the London Nonconforming Ministers] "with our Advertisements." (Parker Corr., 277.) Before this, on March 26th, Parker had told Cecil that he and Bishop Cox were of opinion that "if London were reformed, all the realm would soon follow." (P. Corr., 270.)

Having therefore thus dealt, by way of example, with the "London ministers," on May 21st Grindal (as Dean of the Province) sent out to the other bishops of the Province of Canterbury, and to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's,* for their own "deanery," the printed book, so that we can now fix the date of the "issue" as between March 28th and April 3rd, 1566, for London (compare Stowe as above cited), and May 21st for the rest of the Province of Canterbury. In the interval (just before April 28th) "the Queen's Majesty willed my lord of York to declare her pleasure determinately to have the Order go forward" (P. Corr., 280), and thus the Northern Province also came under the same rule.

The following chronological table may enable the reader to

* The letter is reprinted at the foot of this Tract, p. 8.

take a bird's-eye view of the changes which preceded the "issue" of the Advertisements:—

TABLE.

A.D. 1561 (March?).—'Interpretations' (in MS.) of the Injunctions partially drafted by Abp. Parker, or Bp. Cox, but never finished or authorized. These *may* possibly be the "Articles partly *of old* agreed upon amongst us," mentioned in Abp. Parker's letter of March 3, 1565. Portions have been published by Strype and Cardwell, but the whole of them have never yet been printed.

A.D. 1565, Jan. 25.—Queen's Letter to Abp. Parker, saying, "We do by these our present letters require . . . . you being the Metropolitan . . . . (as the like we will order for the province of York) to confer with your brethren, namely, such as be *in commission for causes ecclesiastical* . . . . so to proceed by Order, injunction, or censure, according to the order and appointment of such laws and ordinances as are *provided by Act of Parliament* . . . . so as uniformity of order may be kept in every church, and *without variety* and contention." [Parker Corr., 223].

A.D. 1565, Feb 28.—Certificates sent in from every church as to "varieties in the Service." Abp. Parker had written for these on Jan. 30. (Corr., 227. Lamb's Letters from C.C.C. Library, p. 314.)

A.D. 1565, March 3.—Rough draft of "Ordinances" as devised by the Commissioners under the Great Seal for Causes Ecclesiastical, sent by Parker to Cecil. [P. Corr., 233].

A.D. 1565, March 8.—Fair copy of revised "Ordinances" endorsed by Cecil as "not authorized nor published." (Strype's Parker, p. 158.)

A.D. 1566, March 10.—Abp. Parker's "first" interview with Queen Elizabeth respecting enforcement of discipline. (Corr., 278).

A.D. 1566, March 12.—Abp. Parker sends rough draft of the Advertisements to Cecil. (Corr., 263).

A.D. 1566, March 17 *circa*.—Abp. Parker's special interview (Grindal being also sent for) with Queen Elizabeth. (Corr., 273).

A.D. 1566, March 28.—Parker sends the printed Advertisements to Cecil, and writes to Grindal an official letter reciting how "The Queen's Highness hath expressly charged both you and me, of late being *therefore* called to her presence, to see her laws executed, *and* good Orders DECREED." He charges him as he will answer "To Her Majesty, to see Her Majesty's laws and injunctions duly observed within your diocese, and ALSO these our convenient *Orders* described in these books," &c. (Corr., 271, 273.) This letter also fixes the date of the Advertisements by speaking of the Queen's letter of January 25, 1565, as "addressed to them now, a year past and more."

A.D. 1566, April 4.—The Advertisements publicly enforced in London. (Corr., 276).

A.D. 1566, April 28.—The Order to go forward in Province of York. (Corr., 280). Abp. Parker and (May 4) Grindal write to Cecil to get members of the Privy Council to sit with the Commissioners. (Parker Corr., 280, and Grindal's Remains, 289).

A.D. 1566, May 21.—Advertisements issued by Grindal to Bishops of Canterbury Province, "according as hath been heretofore used." (Corr., 273).

A.D. 1566, May 27.—Privy Council enforced the Advertisements for "Crossed Caps." (St. Pap. Dom. Eliz., vol. xxxix. No. 82).

A.D. 1566, June 6.—Ditto for Surplice, &c., 2 Z. L. 119, 143. P. Corr., 285.

Looking back over the above table, it will be readily perceived that Dr. Littledale has transferred Cecil's "endorsement" upon the rejected MS. "Ordinances" of March 8th, 1565, to the printed Advertisements which alone were "authorised and

published," and which were issued for London between March 28th and April 4th, 1566. The title, preamble, form, penalties, provision for doctrinal subscriptions, and very many other details had been changed in the "printed book" which was signed by Geste, Bishop of Rochester, and "others": whereas the MS. "Ordinances" of 1565 were devised "only" by the Bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, and Parker himself. [P. Corr., 233].

Let us next examine Dr. Littledale's statement that "evidence from the chief personages in Church and State at the time' overthrows "the Royal character of the Advertisments."

Who were these "chief personages"? Clearly *not* the anonymous Puritan pamphleters who published without either printer's or author's names, and without even a date. These unscrupulous and obscure controversialists would have readily appealed to the Court of Queen's Bench for protection against any unlawful attempts to "deprive" them of their freeholds, if there had been the smallest substance in their fanciful contention. We know that under Elizabeth, prohibitions habitually and frequently took causes not only "out of the Archbishops' and Bishops' Courts, but even out of the hands of the Queen's Ecclesiastical Commissioners and her Court of Delegates." [Strype's Whitgift, pp. 537-41.] But in no single instance did a Nonconformist venture to challenge before the courts of law the "Royal Authority of the Advertisements." Like Dr. Littledale, they preferred to make their appeal from the decisions of the Queen's Courts to the ignorance and passions of the ill-informed "religious" public. But, unlike Dr. Littledale, they abused "the chief personages in Church and State" for procuring a "*Royal* edict" as they habitually call the Advertisements. True, they sometimes affect to doubt the Royal authority; but the insincerity of this inconsistent conduct is laid bare by Withers (one of their leaders), who warned the Prince Elector Palatine "you must take especial care to *transfer all the blame* from the Queen unto the Bishops, who do not act the part of her advisers with the freedom that becomes them, and which it is right they should exercise. For as to their asserting both at home and to foreigners that they do not themselves approve these measures, but that they execute them at the instigation of the Queen, they both themselves command them in books publicly set forth for that very purpose, and STATE *that it is done by the Queen* after a good and pious counsel." [Z. L. II.-164]. The "chief personages both in Church and State" were quite alive to this Puritan device. Archbishop Parker wrote to Cecil: "As for the Queen's Majesty's part, in my expostulation with many of them I signify their disobedience, wherein, *because they see the danger*, they cease to impute it to Her Majesty." [Corr., 237.]

No respectable writer on the Puritan side who published anything *with his own name* to his book ever adopted this shabby artifice. Cartwright, and the "Admonition to Parliament" ignore it. On the other hand, let us see what the responsible

Ordinaries who had to administer the law (at their own risk* if they exceeded their powers) *publicly* stated in Elizabeth's own lifetime as to the "Royal character of the Advertisements."

1566, May 21.—In the letter before referred to as sent by Grindal with the copies distributed to the bishops of the Province of Canterbury, he said: Every minister "upon pain of deprivation to prepare forthwith and to wear such habit and apparel as is *ordained by the Queen's Majesty's authority* expressed in the Treaty intituled the Advertisements, &c., which I send herein enclosed to you."

Now, to obviate the force of these words, Mr. James Parker has first of all, at p. 56, interpolated a comma after the word "authority" and before the word "expressed," and then further interpolated the word "as" before "expressed" (*ibid.*), for which he finally substitutes the word "and". So that at page 207 of his "letter to Lord Selborne" he prints in parallel columns the Ridsdale Judgment and his own counter-statement as follows:—

Mr. Jas. Parker's "*Synopsis*," p. 207.	
Immediately after their issue on May 21st Ep. Grindal wrote to the Dean of St. Paul's, *stating* that they were issued by the Queen's authority. *Ridsdale*, 9.	Grindal does *not* state this. He says: "Such habit as is ordeyned by authority and expressed in the Advertisements." *Letter*, 56, 57.

This is the Ritualistic method of quotation in order to show how the "chief personages" repudiated "Royal" authority!

1566, June 29.—The Privy Council put forth an order that "no one should print any books against . . . any injunction, letters patent, or *ordinances* passed or *set forth*, or to be passed or set forth *by the Queen's* grant, *commission*, or authority." It spoke of certain who "for refusing to wear such distinct and decent apparel as is by public Order commanded, by due order of law already are *deprived*." (Strype's Parker, App. 85.)

This explains why the criticism of the Advertisements was anonymous, why no printer dared to put his name to these "books," and also the view taken of them by the "chief personages in Church and State at the time."

1566, Oct. (27?).—In a minute of the Privy Council, Mr. Crowley was said to have been committed "in summer last," "for disobeying such Orders as were thought requisite by the Queen's Majesty." [Shaw's Arg. in Ridsdale case, p. 529.] Now Crowley's committal took place on that 4th of April, 1566, when "my Lord of London and I dismissed them all with our Advertisements." [P. Corr., 277.] Crowley immediately published "A Declaration of the doings of those ministers of God's Word and Sacraments in the city of London, which have

* That this risk was keenly felt is shown by a memorandum (in Cecil's handwriting) of a Privy Council meeting on June 4, 1565—"The Bishops complain that they dare not execute the ecclesiastical laws to the furtherance of religion for fear of the praemunire wherewith the judges and lawyers of the realm being not well affected in religion, threaten them, some authority might be given them from the Queen to continue during her pleasure." (Stevenson's State papers foreign, Eliz., June 4, 1565.) Leicester's influence steadily declined from this time. (*See* Lewis' Reformation Settlement, p. 255.)

refused to wear the upper apparell and ministering garments of the Pope's Church." As a side-heading is the title "The Bishop's Advertisements." Thus what the Puritans (for strategic reasons) called "the Bishop's Advertisements" were recognized by the Privy Council as "Orders" emanating from the Queen.

1567.—Abp. Parker's articles for the visitation of Norwich are in the British Museum. T $^{1}\frac{01}{10}{}^{3}$. They are preceded by "instructions to the Commissioners," the first of which is "to reduce the clergy unto one uniform order in their ministration and preaching; and that without any partial respect you will put in due execution the Queen's Majesty's ecclesiastical laws, statutes, injunctions, and her Highness's other commandments given and published in that behalf." The fifth was the articles "together bound with the Advertisements, fourpence." Cardwell, who correctly says [Doc. Ann. I.-303] that these same articles were issued to *all* the Cathedrals in the Province of Canterbury, unfortunately omitted these preceding directions.

In answer to the "third article" the return from Canterbury Cathedral made by George Gardyner, Prebendary, was—"The communion is administered in a chalice contrary, as he saith, to the Advertisements of the Queen." [Strype's Parker, App. liv.]

1569.—Archbishop Parker [Doc. Ann. I.-320] and Bishop Parkhurst [Rit. Rep. App. 405-1] both speak of the Advertisements as "set forth by public authority"; Parkhurst specifying for use at perambulations in the Rogation Days "homilies as be appointed by the Queen's Majesty's authority." [*ibid.* 404-4.] Now, "the use of homilies at perambulations was prescribed, not by the Injunctions of 1559, but by the Advertisements." In these same Articles of 1569, No. XXV., Archbishop Parker spoke of "the Queen's Majesty's ecclesiastical laws, statutes, injunctions, and all *Her Highness' other* commandments." "Public authority" is a phrase constantly used for the highest authority common to the whole community. [*See* Mr. Benj. Shaw's Argument, p. 536.] A good example is seen in Canon 65.

1573.—Note also the language of Archbishop Parker, "Order hath been taken publicly this seven years by Commissioners, *according to* the Statute*," viz., the proviso in the Act of Uniformity—a passage which we showed at page 2, could relate only to the Advertisements.

During the same year, Queen Elizabeth herself stated that she had "caused at several times since the beginning of her reign certain Injunctions and *other* Orders to be published by the advice of her clergy." [Strype's Parker, p. 456.]

1575.—Archbishop Parker's Articles for Winchester [Rit. Rep. 418-50] speak of "the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions,

* Provided always and be it enacted that such Ornaments of the Church, and of the ministers thereof, shall be retained and be in use as was in this Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI. UNTIL *other* order shall be *therein* taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of her Commissioners appointed and authorized under the Great Seal of England for causes Ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this Realm." 1 Eliz. c. 2. §. XXV.

and other Her Highness' commandments, orders, decrees, and Advertisements."

1576.—Grindal [cited in Ridsdale Judgment, p. 716] speaks of not opposing "the Queen's Injunctions, nor the Ordinations, nor Articles made by some of the Queen's Commissioners, January 25, in the seventh year of the Queen's reign."

This is very interesting as showing the sense in which the *undated* Advertisements of 1566 came to be spoken of as "made" the seventh year. It was "by virtue of the Queen's Majesty's letter commanding the same," which letter was dated "January 25, 1564" (*i.e.* 1565, New Style). Grindal, who was himself a "Commissioner under the Great Seal for Causes Ecclesiastical," and as such was one of the signatories of the Advertisements of 1566, refers their "making" to the Queen's Letter of the *preceding* year, which, he said, empowered the Commissioners to "*decree* good Orders."* Thus the Bishops' Advertisements and the Commissioners' Advertisements were also the Queen's Advertisements, as being "made" by her Commission.

1582.—The Privy Council sent to Archbishop Grindal "a special letter to urge the Book of Advertisements" which "were commonly at Visitations printed and dispersed." [Strype's Whitgift, p. 100.]

1583.—Draft of Articles endorsed by Cecil as presented *to Queen Elizabeth* herself by Archbishop Whitgift and Bishop Piers, signed by them and four other bishops, in which they speak of "the Advertisements set out by Her Majesty's authority."—Lord Selborne's Notes, p. 77.

In 1584 appeared "An Answer to an Abstract of certaine Acts of Parliament," by Richard Cosin, Dean of the Arches, and "published by authority" in which he rebuts the contention of the Puritan writer, who had said that "though Her Majesty's excellent name be used by the publishers of the said Advertisements for confirmation of them, and that *they affirm Her Majesty to have commanded them thereunto* by Her Highness' letters," yet they lacked credit because "not printed by Her Majesty's printer," and "without Her Majesty's privilege."†

The Dean of the Arches thus replied:—"And is any man to surmise that those reverend and wise Fathers, who subscribed unto the said Book of Advertisements, would or durst publish

* This also explains what had misled Strype, Cardwell, &c., and has puzzled so many people, viz., why Archbishop Parker placed on the forefront of the Advertisements at the time of their being "newly printed," in March, 1566, the words "by virtue of the Queen's letters commanding the same the 25th day of January, in the seventh year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Eliz." In 1571 the carelessness of printers introduced a comma after "commanding the same"; Cardwell puts in a second comma after "letters"; and Mr. James Parker says he is "not called upon to justify, *or even explain*, the expression 'Advertisements *by virtue of*'; it is perhaps vague"! [Letter, p. 146.] "Vague"? Not a bit!

† Such a test was, of course, worthless. But we may remark that the words "cum privilegio" *are* on the title-page, and that Wolfe is called "Nostrum Typographum" in Queen Elizabeth's letters patent, 1560. [Clay's Eliz. Liturgies, p. 301. *See* also Droop's Ed. Vest. p. 95.]

them in Her Majesty's name, and as by Her Highness' *authority and letters dated such a certain day.* if it were not so, or that they would enterprise to forbid or restrain that which the law had so exactly charged and commanded?" ("Answer," p. 74.)

On this the Rev. T. W. Perry, of the E.C.U., says: "It is certain that Cosin could not have been defending their authority as being the 'other order' of Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, because he considered that that order had never been taken." In proof of this, he refers to *John* Cosin's notes of 1640 as his voucher for what *Richard* Cosin in 1584 must have "considered." [Perry on Purchas, p. 155.] Admirable critic!

1585.—Archbishop Whitgift, in the fifth of his Articles for Chichester, speaks of "Her Majesty's Injunctions and Advertisements." [Card. Doc. Ann. II-6].

Our last Elizabethan witness shall be the Judicious Hooker, who, in A.D. 1587, in a letter to Abp. Whitgift, intended to be laid before the Privy Council (of which Whitgift had been sworn a member in February, 1586), described the Advertisements as "a decree agreed upon by the bishops, and confirmed by Her Majesty's authority." [Keble's Hooker, iii.-587.] As Lord Selborne truly said, "No writer of reputation, in any work published before the Eighteenth Century, seems to have suggested a doubt that the Advertisements were, as matter of *fact*, authorized by Queen Elizabeth." It follows that Dr. Littledale's statement has no semblance of truth in it.

NOTE, p. 2, *supra.*

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, ELIZ., VOL. 39, No. 76.

"After my hartie cõmendacyons these are to require and to give yo^{u} in especyall charge that wth all convenyent speed yo^{u} call before yo^{u} all & singuler the mynisters and Eccliasticall psons wth^{in} yo^{r} deanry of Poules and office, and to pscribe & enjoyne everie of them upon payne of deprivacõn to prepare forthwth and to weare such habit and apparell as is ordeyned by the Quenes majesties authoritie expressed in the treaty intituled the advertisemen^{ts}, &c. which I send heerein enclosed unto yo^{u} and in like to injoyne everie of them under the said payne of deprivacõn as well to observe the order of mynistracõn in the Church with surples, and in such forme as is sett forth in the saide treatie, as alsoe to require the subscription of every of them to the said Advertisem^{ts}. And yf yo^{u} shall pceive any of them to be disobedient w^{ch} shall refuse to conforme themselves heerein, that then wthout any delay yo^{u} certifie me the names of all such before Trynitie Sundaie next ensuinge to the intent I maie pceed to the reformacõn and deprivacõn of everie of them-as appertayneth in this case with a Certificate allsoe of the names of such as pmiseth conformytie. And thus I bidd yo^{u} farwell from my howse in London, this xxith of Maie, 1566."

Yo^{r} in Christ,

Indorssed EDM. LONDON.

To the right-worshippfull the DEANE & CHAPTER OF POWLES, Yeve theise.

To be obtained at the Office of the Church Association, 14, Buckingham Street, Strand, London. By Subscribers, for distribution, free. By others at the price of 5*d* per dozen, or 3*s* per 100.

6th Thousand.]

ALTAR LIGHTS:

THEIR HISTORY AND MEANING.

THE symbolic use of candles in Divine worship was not derived from the Jewish Church. St. Ephraem, the Syrian, in commenting on Exodus xxxvii., says expressly:—"But when the Dawn appeared, through Our Lord, the service of the lamps became vain and passed away."[1] And though Mr. F. G. Lee and others quote, as authority for their "two candles," a Syriac Ordo Communis, yet Sir Wm. Palmer,[1a] Dr. John Mason Neale,[1b] and Mr. Trollope[1c] admit that this so-called "*earliest* form of the Eastern rite" is, in fact, "spurious, late, and worthless." These lights were in truth

UNKNOWN TO THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

The late Mr. Scudamore, the most learned of English writers on Ritual, said in his "Notitia Eucharistica," p. 133, and in Smith's Dict. of Christian Antiquities, Vol. II., p. 993:—"It is certain that for more than three centuries after Christ no ecclesiastical sanction was given to the symbolical or ritual use of lights in the public offices of religion. They were so employed by the heathen, and Christian writers reprobated every such use of them as a senseless mode of honouring the gods. Thus Tertullian, A.D. 192, ridicules the practice of 'exposing useless candles at noon,' and by that means 'encroaching on the day.' 'Let them,' he says, 'who have no light, kindle their lamps every day.'[1d] 'They kindle lights to God,' says Lactantius, A.D. 303, 'as if he dwelt in darkness. . . . Is he then to be thought in his right mind, who offers for a gift the light of candles and wax tapers to the Author and Giver of light? But light of another kind He does require of us, and that not smoky, but, as the poet sings, liquid and clear, to wit, that of the mind.' Gregory Nazianzen, A.D. 370:—'Let not our houses blaze with visible light . . for this is indeed the custom of the Greek Holy-Moon . . but with . . lamps that light up the whole body of the Church, I mean with divine contemplations and thoughts.' These writers objected to this employment of light on principle, and not merely because it was in honour of idols; from which

[1] Opp. Syr.-Lat. Romæ, 1737, Vol. I., p. 230. [1a] Orig. Liturg., i.-21.
[1b] Hist. Eastern Church, ii.-326.
[1c] Liturgy of St. James, p. 21, cf. Renaudot, i.-58, 245. Swainson's Greek Liturgies, p. 334.
[1d] Apol. xlvi., xxxv.

we must infer that they knew of nothing similar to it in the practice of the Christian Church."

THEIR PAGAN ORIGIN.

The steady influx into the Church of *adult* converts (many of them ignorant semi-barbarians, retaining much of the engrained superstition and habits of their early childhood), soon began to import Pagan Rites into Church Worship.

Cardinal Baronius,[2] admits that the *cultus* of images by means of lights burning before them was taken directly from idolaters, "the venerable ecclesiastical antiquity brought it to pass,' he says, 'that what used to hang before the idols should be providently converted to the worship of God." The Synod of Elvira, A.D. 306, condemned the use of pictures in the churches, and decreed "that candles be not burned during the day in cœmetries, for fear of troubling the spirits of the saints." This Canon was only one of a series directed against heathenish rites then calling for repression; and Mr. Dale in his interesting "Essay on the Synod of Elvira" (published by Macmillan), has shown (pp. 207-22), that the 'Fathers' who condemned these rites were themselves infected by a belief in necromancy. So soon had "the fine gold become dim"! Dupin honestly says, "that the Fathers of this Council did not approve of the use of images, no more than that of wax candles lighted in full daylight."[3]

The deterioration of Christianity in the fourth century is evident also from the well-known complaint of Vigilantius, that—

"Under the pretext of religion we see a custom *introduced* into the churches which approximates to the rites of the Gentiles, namely, the lighting of multitudes of tapers while the sun is yet shining. And everywhere they kiss in adoration a small quantity of dust folded up in a little cloth, and deposited in a little vessel. *Men of this stamp* give great honour, forsooth, to the most blessed martyrs, thinking with a few insignificant wax-tapers to glorify those whom the Lamb, who is in the midst of the throne, enlightens with all the brightness of His majesty."

St. Jerome in reply *denied* that it was "the practice of the Church." He said:—

"We do not light candles in the daylight as you falsely accuse us, but we do so that we may alleviate the darkness of the night by this comfort."

Yet he admitted that the 'Ritualists' were beginning the practice complained of:—

"But what if *some* do so, in honour of the martyrs, through the ignorance and simplicity of secular men or even of religious women (of whom we may in truth say, 'I bear them record that they have a

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[2] Annals, p. 551, ed. 1597. The *direct* imitation of the heathen in the matter of lights is avowed by Valesius in his note on Eusebius' Life of Constantine, Lib. IV., c. 22, p. 243, also by Bede, De Temp. Rat. 10

[3] Hist. ii.-593.

zeal of God, but *not according to knowledge*') what loss do you thereby sustain?"[4]

Unluckily, St. Jerome was not content with this merely defensive attitude, but (urged, perhaps, by the controversial spirit) apologised for the encroachments of Paganism by saying "that was done to the idols, and therefore to be detested; this is done to the martyrs, and therefore may be received."

Jerome mentions also a practice which had not then been imported into Europe, that

"Throughout all the Churches of the East, *when the Gospel is about to be read*, lights are lit at noon-day, not to disperse the darkness, but to show gladness . . . . so that under the type of a corporal light, that light might be shewn concerning which we read in the Gospel, 'Thy word, O Lord, is a lantern unto my feet and a light unto my paths.'"

This mode of dramatising Psalm cxix.-105 might be childish, and was certainly quaint, but at least it involved no Romish doctrine. On this point we may cite the testimony of two learned Roman Catholics.

Erasmus said,[5]

"Jerome seems to have been of this opinion that he thought it superstitious to burn candles in honour of the saints by day, and that they were not to be burned except for a solace of the night, although at the present day sacred worship consists chiefly in candles. But it appears that in that age the custom was rather tolerated than approved of; and time changes many things."

Cardinal Zaccaria says,[6]

"We learn three things from this place [viz. of St. Jerome], 1st. That the cause of lights and candles being burned at the reading of the Gospel was for a sign of gladness. 2nd. That the custom did not exist in the whole Church, for he said that it was peculiar to the Churches of the East. 3rd. We gather that in the Churches of the East no candle was burned in the other parts of the Mass, nor at the introit, and we gather the same thing, too, from the Ordo Romanus, written after [the time of] St Jerome."

The "Gospel lights" were at first "extinguished in their place after the reading of the Gospel"[7] and at a later time "we find them when extinguished set behind the altar—a practice which, in conjunction with the need of light at an early celebration, in due time paved the way for the introduction of altar-lights."[8] "One proof that those candles served for the reading is, that

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[4] Epist. Hieronymi, xxxvii., "Ad Riparium Presbyterum." Dr. Gilly's "Vigilantius and his Times," p. 395. Mr. J. D. Chambers (p. 283) calmly attributes the half-quotation from Jerome to "Prudentius"!

[5] Cited in Dallæus (de cultibus religiosis Latinorum, 1671, p. 1167) who says that Cardinal Sandoval, the censor, struck out the passage.

[6] Bibliotheca Ritualis, Tom. III., page xciv.

[7] Smith's Dict. Christian Antiq., ii-994.

[8] Smith's Dict. Christian Antiq., ii.-994, Not. Euch., 136. "In course of time,' says Romsée, 'it seemed more convenient to set the candlesticks with the candles on the slab of the altar, and to burn the candles" (Not. Euch., 138).

according to the Ordinary of the Jacobins, and the Missal of the Order of the Holy Cross, the minister or clerk, when removing the Missal from one side to another, ought, at the same time, to shift the candle, if there was not one on each side; that is to say, in one word, the light *followed the Missal*, and only referred to the Missal."[8a] In Spain, Isidore of Seville, so early as A.D. 636, had begun to confuse and extend the symbolism of the Gospel-lights. He said, "Those who in Greek are called acolytes, are in Latin called ceroferarii, from their carrying wax candles when the Gospel is to be read, *or* the sacrifice to be offered."[9] This vague extension of the meaning is the earliest hint we get of the later symbolism of the Middle Ages. Yet "no candles are shown in representations of the Mass of the tenth century."[10] Mr. Scudamore adduces many illustrations, ranging from A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1541, showing that Mass was even then said either "without light," or with only *one* candle, shifted from side to side for purposes of mere utility.

But in 1215 at the Council of Lateran, Pope Innocent III. first defined the doctrine of 'Transubstantiation' by name, and appropriately enough, this same Innocent ("a man most pernicious to the Church and Commonwealth of Christ," as Ridley termed him) was the first bishop to order lights to be set *upon* the altar.[11] In England the earliest order of this kind is that of the Council of Oxford, A.D. 1222,[12] presided over by the Cardinal Legate of the Pope, in which the decrees of Lateran were closely followed.

THE 'SYMBOLISM' OF LIGHTS.

Symbolism is the reflection of man's imagination embodied in the works of his hands. "As the fool thinks, so the bell tinks." "The eye sees what it takes with it the power of seeing," says Kingsley. And hence, Ritualists gravely assign to the self-same rite a variety of meanings, derived solely from their own changeable wishes and fancies.

For example, Jerome's "Light of the Gospel" became in Durand "The Law and the Prophets," or, the Jews and Gentiles, or, according to others, "The two Natures of Christ" (which view, by the way, would involve the *separation* of the two natures, *i.e.* Nestorianism). Next, as sacrificial notions grew up, Suarez and Lyndwood claim the lights as meaning "sacrificial fire," and refer to Levit. vi.-13 for a scriptural warrant! The Gemma Animæ (in A.D. 1130) taught that "the Holy Ghost," as the consecrator of the sacrament, was thus symbolised. Lastly, Lyndwood refers us to the Decretals, which teach that the sacrament should be

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[8a] De Vert. Explication, p. 159.
[9] Smith's Dict., 996.
[10] Not. Euch., p. 138. Pugin's Glossary, *Art.* "Altar candlesticks."
[11] Robertson, p. 313, note. Lewis' Ref. Settlement, p. 78.
[12] Wilkins, i.-595.

carried to the sick "with a light going before it, because *it*'—the sacrament—'is the brightness of the æternal light.'" "Lumine præcedente quod sit candor lucis æternæ" (De Celebratione, cap. 10).

Thus, before the Reformation, the "lights before the sacrament" had come to be regarded as symbolising (1) Transubstantiation, and (2) the sacrifice of the Mass; and they were burned both 'before' the Host in processions, and in honour of the reserved 'Host,' precisely as the heathen worshipped their sacred images, by 'setting' lights 'before' them.

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

Up to the day of his death King Henry VIII. sent men to the stake for denying Transubstantiation, and he left money for Masses to be said for the repose of his soul.[13] Yet he curtailed the worship of images, and, by his Vicar-General's Injunction, ordered, in 1536,

"Ye shall suffer from henceforth, no candles, tapers, or images of wax to be set *before* any image or picture, but only the light that goeth across the church by the rood-loft, the light before the sacrament of the altar, and the light about the sepulchre, which for the adorning of the church and divine service ye shall suffer to remain still."[14]

In 1538, 1539, and again in 1541 he required "no other lights to be used but that *before* the Corpus Christi'—'but only *to* the blessed sacrament of the altar."[15]

The celebrated Injunction of July 31st, 1547, published by Edward VI. in the first year of his reign, was copied directly from these Injunctions of Henry VIII. It ran—

"Item. . . shall suffer from henceforth no torches nor candles, tapers or images of wax to be set *afore* any image or picture, but only two lights upon the high altar, *before* the Sacrament, which for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still," &c.[16]

The lights thus "suffered to remain still" were of course the same lights which had existed in the reign of his father;[17] for during the whole of the first year of Edward VI. (*i.e.*, A.D. 1547) Transubstantiation was not only the received and authorised

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[13] Collier, ix.-225.

[14] Wilkins, Conc., iii.-816, 842, 847.

[15] Strype's Cranmer, p. 92. Burnet I.-ii.-279.

[16] Card., Doc. Ann., i.-7.

[17] It is to be remembered that altar-lights (as distinguished from the solitary lamp before the *reserved* wafer) never were usual or even common in England. "There is no allusion to altar-lights in the 'Lay-folk's Mass Book,' or the 'Virtue of the Mass,' or the Explanation of Ceremonies drawn up under the eye of Cranmer, if not by himself, about 1543; all professing to explain to the laity the whole of the service of the Mass." This "sufferance to remain still" was therefore a temporary tolerance of existing lights till other order could be taken; *not* an Injunction to provide the like ornaments elsewhere.

doctrine of the Church of England, but a denial of it was punishable with *death*. The bloody act of the "Six Articles" still remained on the statute book, and Edward issued a commission under it as late as April 19th, 1547. (Foxe V. App. No. xx.) So real was the terror which it inspired that even in Nov. 1547 Convocation was afraid to discuss any reforms of the service books until it had been repealed.[18] The Latin Mass, the elevation, reservation, and adoration of the host, the denial of the cup to the laity, the doctrine and practice of the seven sacraments were all exclusively in use throughout the year A.D. 1547. "The necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian man" drawn up by Gardiner was still the authorised formulary of the English Church. In short, no reformation of doctrine or ritual, so far as regards the Lord's Supper, had even commenced when this Injunction of Edward was issued in 1547.

Transubstantiation, then, and the Mass-sacrifice were both symbolised by the two lights thus "suffered to remain still" in 1547.

THE INJUNCTIONS OF KING EDWARD VI.

Under these circumstances it might naturally be asked what can we possibly have to do with them now—seeing that the 'altar' for sacrifice is abolished, and the doctrine of transubstantiation is repudiated as a falsehood. And the natural answer "nothing at all," is also the true one. It has been disputed whether these Injunctions of 1547, which *claim* only Royal authority, had any authority of 'Parliament.' But that question is disposed of by the fact that the statute 1 Ed. VI., c. 12, sec. 4, passed on December 24th, 1547, repealed *nominatim* not only the heresy acts, but every statute which had been held to give to royal Proclamations the force of a statute.[19] Consequently, in the "*second* year of Edward VI." (commencing January 28th, 1548) these Injunctions had no *Parliamentary* force. For

"It is a well-settled principle of law that any obligation flowing from a statute either immediately or mediately (*i.e.* from some rule or order made in pursuance of powers granted by a statute) becomes null and void as soon as the statute is repealed. It is on this ground that when it is intended to keep alive what has been previously done under the powers of a repealed Act, a saving clause is always inserted to this effect in the Act which repeals it."[20]

Nor could the Injunctions of 1547 gain any Parliamentary force from King Henry's Will (as suggested by Cardwell, Doc.

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[18] Blunt's Annotated Prayer Book, p. xxi.

[19] Yet Dr. Stubbs omits from his summary of this statute its express repeal of the Proclamation Acts (31 H. VIII. c. 8, and 34 & 35 H. VIII. c. 23), by which they were "utterly made void and of none effect." [See Eccl. Courts Comm. Report, Historical Appendix, i. p. 41.]

[20] Mr. B. Shaw, in *Contemporary Review*, i.-23, who cites the cases of *Surtees* v. *Ellison*, *Kay* v. *Goodwin*, *Reg.* v. *Mawgan*, *Barrow* v. *Arnaud*, and an opinion of Mr. Badeley to the same effect.

Ann., i-5), because that Will required that a *majority* of the executors should sign the document, whereas only half (viz. eight out of sixteen) of them signed these Injunctions. "Five of the Aiders and Assistants also signed them, but their names were not required by the Statute and the Will. The Injunctions, therefore, if issued under the authority of the Succession Act and the 'Will' of Henry VIII., must be pronounced *invalid*, as not signed in conformity with their requirements."[21]

"THE SECOND YEAR OF KING EDWARD VI."

The "Second Year" began January 28th, 1548. It was a year of continuous change and transition. During the first twenty-eight days of that year all images which had not been specially 'abused' were retained. Up to Easter in that year the elevation of the host and the denial of the cup to the laity were the law of the Church. Even after Easter there was "no varying of any other rite or ceremony in the Mass," so that up to (and beyond) the end of the second year of Edward VI. the following ceremonies were in use, viz. processions of candle-bearers, thurifers, deacon and sub-deacon; repeated crossings of the face, book, breast, chalice, and paten; making crosses with the host over the chalice and before the priest's head and mouth; kissing the priest's hand, book, altar, pax, paten, and corporal; bowing to the priest and altar; elevating, joining, and washing the hands; censing of the altar, priest, sacrifice, Gospel, &c. Except at the actual distribution of the elements, the service was still in Latin, and prayers were offered "by the merits of the saints," and "by the intercession of the blessed, glorious, and ever-virgin Mother of God." The use of the cope at Holy Communion was unlawful during the whole of "the second year of Edward VI." The use of amice, girdle, stole, maniple, dalmatic was compulsory throughout that second year. The crucifix, pyx (or tabernacle), holy-water vat, and all the paraphernalia of the 'seven' sacraments was sanctioned as matter of fact during the whole of that "second year."

But (and this is most important) *not one of these things rested upon any "authority of* PARLIAMENT."

That "authority of Parliament in the second year" was conferred by the first Act of Uniformity (2 & 3 Ed. VI. c. 1) passed during the last week of that "Second Year," and it utterly swept away and abolished all the above-named *non-Parliamentary* usages of the "Second Year," and of course abrogated all merely Royal Injunctions which involved any variation from the new "Book of Common Prayer." Yet, so far as they harmonised with and were subsidiary to the changes made in the new 'Parliamentary' Prayer Book, the Royal Injunctions would still be

[21] Pinnock, "Transition Period," p. 59.

recognised as entitled to observance, though resting, of course, solely upon the Royal prerogative.

The further progress of the Reformation was effected not by formally *cancelling* the Royal Injunctions of 1547 as a whole, but by *omitting* such as had become illegal from their conflicting with the new Prayer Book. Hence the first of the Royal Injunctions of 1549 ran as follows:—

"That all parsons, vicars, and curates OMIT in the reading of the Injunctions all such as make mention of the Popish Mass, of chantries, *of candles upon the altars*, or any other such like thing. *Item* for an uniformity, that no minister do counterfeit the Popish Mass, as . . . . setting any light upon the Lord's board at any time; and finally to use no other ceremonies than are *appointed in* the King's Book of Common Prayers."[22]

Ridley's Diocesan Injunctions, given in his Visitation in May, 1550, begin: "That there be *no* reading of such Injunctions as extolleth and setteth forth the Popish Mass, candles," &c.; and he forbade "counterfeiting the Popish Mass in saying the Agnus before the Communion, setting any light upon the Lord's board," &c.

"And finally, that the minister, in the time of Holy Communion, do use only the ceremonies and gestures appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and *none other*, so that there do not appear in them any counterfeiting of the Popish Mass."[23]

In the same way, Hooper's Injunctions of 1551, while ordering the clergy to "*not read* such Injunctions as extolleth and setteth forth the Popish Mass, candles," &c., and forbidding the "setting any light upon the Lord's board," yet at the same time direct "the homilies to be read orderly according to the King's Majesty's Injunctions."[24]

Thus the Royal Injunction of 1547 relating to the Mass lights was held to have been abrogated by the Act of Uniformity (2 & 3 Ed. VI. c. 1) which in "the second year of King Ed. VI." superseded and supplanted all previous ritual possessing any "authority of Parliament" even had the Injunctions ever possessed any *such* 'authority.' This is proved by the conduct of Ridley on his appointment to the See of London—"before he would enter the choir, he commanded the lights on the altar to be extinguished" at St. Paul's.[25] The contemporary *Greyfriar's Chronicle* says (p. 67) April xii. 1550, "At that same time the Bishop cam-

[22] Cardwell, Doc. Ann. No. XV.

[23] Doc. Ann. No. XXI. "It is also especially worthy of note that, where he is supported by these Articles or other known authorities, he speaks in a tone of command; that where he is not, he only exhorts and recommends. He *orders* that there shall be no reading of the Injunctions that set forth candles, and that no minister shall "set any light upon the Lord's board;" while he 'exhorts' the curates and churchwardens, for reasons which he gives, to remove stone altars." [Scudamore, Not. Euch., p. 130.] As to the stone altars, the Order in Council for their removal did not issue till November, while Ridley's Articles were in May, 1550.

[24] Later Writings, P.S., p. 128.

[25] Milman's "Annals of St. Paul's," p. 226.

manded the lytt of the aulter to be put owte or he came into the qwere."

Cranmer altered his conduct gradually so as to conform to the successive changes of the law. Thus in 1548 (*i.e. before* the reformation of the Missal) he asked

"Whether they suffer any torches, candles, tapers, or any other lights to be in your churches, but only two lights upon the high altar."[26]

Here it will be noted that he omits the significant words "*before the Sacrament.*" For, during that same year [27] he published his 'Catechism' from which he had struck out the accompanying

woodcut ("where is the altare with candel light set forth, the priest apparelled after the old sort," as Gardiner jeeringly

boasted) and substituted the "Lord's Supper" as here depicted; so that, as he told Gardiner, "you should rather have gathered

[26] Doc. Ann., p. 43.
[27] Before August 18th, 1548. See Orig. Lett. P.S. ii.-381.

your argument upon the other side, that I mislike the matter, because I *left out* of my booke the picture that was in the originall before." [28]

At that very time he was engaged in the compilation of the "first Prayer Book." In 1550 his Visitation Articles were changed. Nothing is now said about 'lights' even at Canterbury Cathedral.

On the contrary, it is demanded

"Whether any of this Church do keep or observe . . the book called the Common Prayer . . and whether you use any other ceremonies at the Communion or other Divine Service than is *mentioned or allowed in the same book.*" [29]

In 1551 (still under the first Prayer Book) he says—

"Thus our Saviour Christ, like a most loving Pastor and Saviour of our souls, hath given us warning beforehand of the perils and dangers that were to come, and to be wise and ware, that we should not give credit unto such teachers as would persuade us to worship a piece of bread, to kneel to it, to knock to it, to creep to it, to follow it in procession, to lift up our hands to it, to offer it, *to light candles to it* . . . having always this pretence or excuse for our idolatry 'Behold here is Christ.'" [30]

Latimer preached his celebrated "Sermon on the Plough," on the very day on which the Act of Uniformity passed the House of Lords, for the third time, January 15th, 1549. He said (p. 70)—

"Where the devil is resident, and hath his plough going, there away with books, and up with candles; away with Bibles, and up with beads; *away with the light of the Gospel, and up with the light of candles, yea, at noon-days.*"

No higher authorities as to the meaning of the first Prayer Book than Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer can be imagined, yet Cox, another of its compilers, is remarkable as having (like Dr. May) assisted at *both* revisions of Edward's Prayer Book as well as at that under Elizabeth. No change as to altar-lights was made by either of the later books. Cox was the leader of the "High Church Party" (so to speak) among the Marian refugees at Frankfort, and when Calvin had been misinformed that lights were authorised by the English Prayer Book, Cox wrote to him —"As for our lights, we never had any;" and the Puritan leaders felt so discredited by the supposition that they had been furnishing to Calvin false information that they wrote—

"By cause that Maister Calvin in his letter maketh mention of lights, some might gather that he was untruly informed that in the English Book lights were prescribed, the *contrary whereof* appeareth by the description before." They argued "for so much as lightes and

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[28] Dr. Burton's "Preface to Cranmer's Catechism, p. xx. Wafers placed in the mouth, and vestments were retained in the First Prayer Book, so that the only detail 'misliked' in the picture must have been the 'lights.'

[29] Remains, p. 159. [30] Answer to Gardiner, p. 238.

crosses be 2 of the most ancientest ceremonies . . . *are yet for such cause abolished;* how much more," &c.[31]

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Although candlesticks for the Holy table were not among the "ornaments of the church" contained in or prescribed by the "first Prayer Book of Edward VI.," yet two pieces of evidence have been tendered to show that they were actually used under that book. The first is a letter from Bucer and Fagius dated at Lambeth on April 26th, 1549, in which they said—

"As soon as the description of the ceremonies now in use shall have been translated into Latin, we will send it to you. We *hear* that some concessions have been made both to a respect for antiquity, and to the infirmity of the present age; such for instance as the vestments commonly used in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and the use of candles: so also in regard to the commemoration of the dead, and the use of chrism; for we *know not to what extent or in what sort it prevails.*"

It is to be observed that when Bucer and Fagius wrote this letter they had not had twenty-four hours' experience of England, and were entirely ignorant of the language: no translation of the new Prayer Book then existed, while its actual use *began* on June 9th, *i.e.* a fortnight *later*. On the same day (April 26th), Fagius wrote two other letters in each of which he said, "I cannot at present give you any *certain* information about English affairs."[32] Bucer and Fagius added that "these things . . are *only to be retained for a time*, lest the people, not having yet learned Christ, should be deterred by too extensive innovations from embracing his religion."[33] That temporary toleration may have ceased at the introduction of the "first Prayer Book;" but in any case the second-hand impressions of newly arrived foreigners can be no evidence as to the requirements of a book with which they had then had neither time nor opportunity to become acquainted.

In estimating such evidence it is well to call to mind the words of the present Bp. of Carlisle, Dr. Harvey Goodwin, when Chairman of the Committee of Canterbury Convocation.

"To show the extreme difficulty of arriving at a true judgment on historical evidence, I may mention that on preaching at the Chapel Royal lately the candles on the altar were lighted. Supposing that, after the manner of a Zurich Letter, I had mentioned the fact in

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[31] Troubles at Frankfort, p. liv., or Gorham's "Ref. Gleanings," p. 347. Cosin's blunder about 'Knox's' altar-lights was pointed out in 1669 by his friend Durel (Vindiciæ, p. 97).

[32] Orig. Letters, pp. 332, 535. Gorham's "Ref. Gleanings," p. 78.

[33] Compare Luther's explanation—"We allow the Mass dresses, altar, lights, to remain, until they all disappear, or it pleases us to alter them; but whoever will do otherwise herein we let him. But in the true Mass, among simple Christians, the altar must not remain so, and the Priest must always turn to the people, as without doubt Christ did in the Supper. Now let that wait its time." Daniel, Codex Liturgicus, ii.-105. Compare Hebert on Lord's Supper, ii.-297.

writing to the Continent, and two hundred years hence my letter had turned up. It would be evidence very difficult to be got rid of; whereas the truth was that on that day there was a London fog, and it would have been difficult to have read the Communion service without lights of some kind. If, then, we take contemporary letters without knowing all the surrounding circumstances of the events narrated, we are liable to be led into error. There are, then, great doubts whether there ever was what might be called a 'Use' for lighted candles on the Lord's table since the Reformation or not. My own feeling is that *there was no such Use.*" [34]

A second witness wrongly alleged is Bp. Hooper, who on December 27th, 1549, complained of the nonconformity of certain old Popish incumbents—

"Where they used heretofore to celebrate in the morning the *Mass* of the apostles, they now have the *communion* of the apostles; where they had the *Mass* of the blessed Virgin they now have the communion which they call the *communion* of the Virgin; where they had the principal, or High Mass, they now have, as they call it, the high communion. They still retain their vestments and candles *before* the altars. . . God knows to what perils and anxieties we are exposed by reason of men of this kind." [35]

These candles '*before*' the altars were, however, not altar-lights, but the two tapers ordered by the Sarum Consuetudinary to be carried by acolytes and set down at the altar-*step*. Six months before Hooper's letter was written, the Privy Council had complained to Bonner of his connivance at the same irregularities mentioned by Hooper.[36] Bp. Bonner had been deprived for non-compliance on October 1st; and just two days before Hooper's letter above cited, an Order in Council directed the defacing of the Sarum Missal and all the old service books, "the keeping whereof should be a let to the usage of the said Book of Common Prayer.' . . 'That they never after may serve *either to any such use as they were provided for*, or be at any time a let to that godly and *uniform* order." [37]

The charges against Bonner are given at length in Foxe, "Acts and Monuments," V.-763, and included these—

"That ye know . . that certain persons within your diocese . . have heard, been at, or celebrate mass or evensong in the Latin tongue, and after the old rite and manner, other than according to the King's Majesty's Book," and "that the rites of the common service of the Church, now set forth, be in some parts of your diocese *diversely* used; and you, knowing or hearing of the same, have not called any ministers of the service before you for redress of such diversity, nor corrected the *misusers* thereof."

Hooper and Latimer were Bonner's accusers; and Hooper and Ridley describe what they complained of as a "counterfeiting of

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[34] Chronicle of Convocation, 1866, p. 401.
[35] Compare Bucer's Script. Angl., p. 706. Orig. Lett. p. 72.
[36] Cardwell, Doc. Ann. I. Nos. xvi., xvii. and xviii.
[37] Doc. Ann. i.-75.

the Popish Mass," as including "setting any light upon the Lord's board," which they forbad accordingly, being "*other* ceremonies than are *appointed in* the King s Book of Common Prayers."

The use of Mass lights existed, therefore, "under the first Prayer Book only" in the same sense that theft exists 'under' the Eighth Commandment, or Ritualism 'under' the Public Worship Act.

UNDER ELIZABETH.

A fresh set of Injunctions was issued in 1559, based on those of 1547, but the Edwardian Injunction 'suffering' the "two lights" to 'remain' was *omitted*, while the general prohibition against "setting up candles" was retained. In Elizabeth's private chapel lights were burned before the crucifix, at *evening* service as well as at other times during the first four years of her reign; but this had no connection with lights "before the Sacrament." The history of Elizabeth's image-lights has been fully detailed in THE CHURCH INTELLIGENCER, Vol. III., p. 4. Strype says they were "contrary to her own Injunctions."[38] Their introduction greatly alarmed the Protestants who wrote to ask what should be done "*suppose* the Queen *should* enjoin the bishops and clergy to *admit* this image with its candles (*imaginem cum candelis*) into their churches?"[39] After April 26th, 1563, the Elizabethan image-candles were never again lighted.[40]

On Aug. 1st, 1563, the second book of Homilies was published with a preface by Bp. Cox: and in the Homily on "Peril of Idolatry" Bp. Jewel taught that "In the daytime it needeth not, but was ever a proverb of foolishness to light a candle at noon-time." Long before this, on March 24th, 1560, Cox had refused to minister in the Queen's Chapel "lights and the cross remaining." Abp. Parker also protested on the same occasion.[41] Bp. Bullingham, one of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners who framed the Advertisements of 1566 (which were issued "by virtue of" Elizabeth's Letter of January 25th, 1565), preached against "candles at noonday."[41a] Bps. Grindal and Horn, two of the Elizabethan revisers of the Prayer Book, wrote in 1567—"The Church of England has entirely given up the use of lighted tapers, and other things of that kind, which by prescript of the laws are never to be recalled."[42] Those last words are especially to be noted as showing that the Prayer Book excluded what it did not expressly 'retain.' Harding, the Romanist, taunted Bp. Jewel—"If lights at the Gospel and Communion be not had . . . judge ye whether ye have duly kept the old ceremonies of the Church."

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[38] Life of Parker, p. 46.
[39] Z. L. i.-64 and App. p. 36.
[40] Z. L. i.-129.
[41] Strype's Annals, i.-176 and App. xxii.
[41a] Robertson, 74 n.
[42] Z. L. i.-178, and App. 106.

Jewel defended the Use of the Church of England by quoting Jerome and Tertullian, as above.[43] But the most conclusive proof of the entire absence of altar-lights from Elizabethan Churches, is the fact that the Puritans who were morbidly sensitive about the most trivial matters of ritual, *never once* complain of altar-lights. Hooker and Whitgift are equally silent. Dean Sampson expressly said, "The candles are retained at Court alone."[44]

It has been shown in THE CHURCH INTELLIGENCER, 1886, Vol. III., p. 3, that Elizabeth's fancy ritual was political rather than theological in its significance, and was always recognised as being at variance with the formularies, and with the received usages of the Church in her own day.

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When the genuine Mass was restored under Mary, we read in Strype (under date August 21st, 1553), "Mass began at St. Nicholas Cole-Abbey, sung in Latin, and *tapers set on the altar*, and a cross."[45] The clean sweep made of altars and their furniture in 1559, at the restoration of Edward's second Prayer Book, finally banished the Mass-lights from the Church of England. Bp. Andrewes describing "some of the superfluous and wicked ceremonies of the Papists borrowed from the heathen," instances that "their burning of tapers at noonday is altogether a pagan custom."[46]

Yet Andrewes is the earliest bishop after the Reformation who adopted the use of candlesticks on the holy table in his private chapel: but of course, only for necessary use. At that very time we know that the candles in the Chapel Royal were also unlit from the celebrated lines of Andrew Melville ridiculing its clasped books and "blind lights."

> "Cur stant clausi Anglis libri duo regiâ in arâ?
> Lumina cæca duo, pollubra sicca duo?"[47]

Laud, the professed imitator of Andrewes, introduced candlesticks at Lambeth where they had been "never used in his predecessor's days;" but in his defence, he testifies that they were "*not* burning."[48] The eccentric Nicholas Ferrar had candles "not for the purposes of superstition but for real use, which for a great part of the year the fixed hours of prayer made necessary both for morning and evening service."[49]

At the coronation of Charles I. at Edinburgh, in 1633, the two wax candles "were *unlighted*." *See* Canon Robertson's "How shall we conform to the Liturgy?" third edition, p. 392, correcting Mr. Fuller Russell's misrepresentation of Spalding.

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[43] Def. Apol., 176. [44] Z. L. i.-63. [45] Eccl. Mem. iii.-22.
[46] Minor Works, Anglo-Catholic Library, p. 370.
[47] Perry's Hist. Church of England, i.-146. We learn from Howell's Letters, p. 140, that the candlesticks taken to Madrid for Prince Charles' Chapel were "never used."
[48] Liturgia Anglicana, p. 162. [49] Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. v.-158.

Prynne himself, in his "Quench Coal," published in 1637, said (p. 34), "There is no analogie between the Communion table and light, unless in respect of those candlesticks, and *unburning* tapers which some Popish novellers place for a double shewe upon it." In 1640, a proctor in Convocation said, "I know not why we should have candles in the day-time; I wish there may not be so much as an emblem of a fruitless prelacy or clergy in the Church, that only fill the candlestick, but give no light."[50]

In the following year a pamphlet entitled "Vox Borealis" described a person who on "coming into a new altered church, and looking upon their implements, told his friend that was with him . . . that . . . their two dark tapers betokened blindness and superstition."[51] "Lambeth Fair," a Puritan satire, describes the candles at St. Paul's Cathedral,

> "When we at matins, and at even-song were,
> We had them by us then devoid of fear,"

But no hint is given of their being used at Holy Communion.[52]

On the eve of the Savoy Conference "divers ministers of sundry counties" published "reasons showing the necessity of reformation," in which they complain of the Laudian party that "they must have all (*except* candles lighted) that are upon Popish altars where Mass is used."[53]

At the Savoy Conference, "Dr. Bates urged Dr. Gunning that on the same reasons they so imposed the cross and surplice, they might *bring in* holy water, and *lights*, and abundance of such ceremonies of Rome, which we *have cast out*."[54]

After the Restoration, Hickeringill wrote—

"I profess, when I came from beyond sea, about the year 1660, to Paul's and Whitehall, I almost thought at first blush that I was still in Spain or Portugal; only the candles on our altars, most nonsensically, stand unlighted to signify what? the darkness of our noddles, or to tempt the chandlers to turn downright Papists, as the more suitable religion for their trade?" . . . "For what signification of light can this ceremony be any more than a stick?"[55]

Bp. Cosin testifies that, at Durham, "during the whole season of the year no candles were lighted or used for the performance of Divine service but when it was dark;" but they were lit, he says, when the 'lessons' were read and the 'psalms' sung at night.[56]

Yet Mr. J. D. Chambers stated—"that Cosin continued the practice of 'lights before the Sacrament' after the Restoration, is proved by a passage in Walter Brereton's Travels, quoted in Mr. Street's lecture given at Durham in 1868, *who saw them so used*."[57]

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[50] Robertson, p. 79.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Hierurgia Anglicana, p. 256.
[53] Hier. Ang. p. 329.
[54] Sylvester's Life of Baxter, p. 340.
[55] Works, ii.-405, 441.
[56] Works, iv.-390, 395.
[57] Comment and Confutation, p. 25.

That is a typical sample of a Ritualistic voucher. Brereton *never* mentions either Cosin, or "lights before the Sacrament;" and the only allusion to an 'altar' is in Bp. Morton's remark to Brereton, viz., that "it was not to be counted an altar, but the Communion-table."[58]

In 1674, Hickman wrote—"We, in England, in many places, set candles and candlesticks on the tables, but do not light them."[58a]

In 1695, a Puritan writes—"In some topping churches you shall see huge unlighted candles (for what use nobody alive can tell), but the meaner churches are forced to shift without them."[59]

Lathbury[60] quotes from a dissenting writer of George the Second's time—"There is no command for setting up of candles upon Communion tables, and yet we see unlighted candles placed on Collegiate and Cathedral altars, which some inferior churches awkwardly ape:" and also a Scotch Presbyterian, writing in Queen Anne's time against the Scottish Union, who urged—"We shall have *blind* lights, altars, and bowing to the altar."

Mr. Fuller Russell cited "Drake's Eboracum, p. 524," as proving that in 1736 lights were burned at York Minster "at every service," though his voucher merely says they were lit in winter "at *evening* service."

Cosin referred, vaguely and inaccurately, to Edward's Injunction of 1547, but he never quotes, nor appears to have been aware of the crucial words "before the Sacrament." The fact is, his 'Notes' were written before Sparrow had reprinted these Injunctions; hence, like Wheatly, Cosin seems to have thought that the table-candles were for use at *evening* service. And this 'tradition' led to the introduction of many candlesticks during the reign of Queen Anne. Dr. Hook, in his "Church Dictionary" (eighth edition), takes Wheatly's view, as also did Dr. Stephens in his "Notes on the Common Prayer."

But lights "*before the Sacrament*" were unknown in the Church of England for 300 years, till the revival of Romish doctrine gave rise to the recent introduction of this appropriate symbol of a localised deity.

"The lights are of course not for use, but to symbolise the divine presence. We burn them on our altars, on the right side and on the left, before the oracle, when, *as the Bible says* [*sic*] there is 'no need' of them. 'Two candlesticks *standing before the God* of the earth' appear in the Revelation, and in the authorised [*sic*] use of the English Church."[61]

That is "the History and Meaning of Altar-lights."

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[58] Brereton's Travels, Chetham Society, p. 81.
[58a] Hist. Quinq-Articularis Exarticulata, p. 13.
[59] Hierurgia Anglicana, p. 354. [60] Hist. Book of Common Prayer, p. 427.
[61] "What Ritual has God appointed?" by the Rev. J. S. Pollock.

To be obtained at the Office of the CHURCH ASSOCIATION, 14, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, at the price of 10*d* per dozen, or 6*s* per 100.

11th Thousand.]

THE MIXED CHALICE.

"THY silver is become dross, thy wine *mixed with water*,"—such was the language used by Isaiah (i.-22) to describe the adulteration of doctrine in his own day: and the words have a singular fitness to the same purpose nowadays.[1] For a brief period after the Reformation the priest was ordered by the rubric (in the Prayer Book of 1549) to "put the wine into the chalice. . . . putting thereto a little pure and clean water": but this direction was finally withdrawn in 1552. And the Thirty-fourth Article "Of the Traditions of the Church" explains the authority by which this was done.

So clear is the law of the Church of England that when the English Church Union employed nine eminent counsel in 1866 to give an Opinion as to the legality or otherwise of adding water during the Communion service, the three most eminent—viz., Sir W. Bovill, Mr. J. D. Coleridge, and Mr. W. M. James said expressly that it was "not lawful." Two held it arguable, "but upon the whole *not* authorised;" these two being Mr. J. Hannen and Sir R. Phillimore, the latter of whom two years later, as Dean of the Arches, pronounced "that the mixing may not take place during the service, because such mixing would be a ceremony *designedly omitted in and therefore prohibited by* the rubrics of the present Prayer Book."[2] Every one of the above counsel subsequently became a Judge of one of Her Majesty's Supreme Courts. Dr. Deane "had some doubt as to the lawfulness" but "strongly inclined to the opinion" which his clients sought. Only two held that the practice was "not

[1] The word used by St. Paul in 2 Cor. ii.-17 for 'corrupting' is taken from Isaiah i.-22, in the LXX.

[2] Judgment in Martin *v.* Mackonochie, Phillimore's Report, p. 93.

illegal," and these two (Messrs. Prideaux and Cutler) were certainly not the most eminent. These Opinions were published by the English Church Union in 1866, having been given upon *their own ex parte Case.* Yet the E.C.U. have ever since employed their funds in defending a practice which all the courts have repeatedly condemned, as counsel had predicted. With what consistency can persons who act thus pretend that they care two straws for the "law of the Church of England"? or how can the E.C.U. possibly be mistaken for a body of loyal Churchmen?

Some advocates of the practice, however, take higher ground and declare that the mixed chalice was instituted by Christ Himself, so that the Church of England has *no right* to forbid the practice. Even though this were true, it would not justify the conduct of non-conforming clergymen who take orders from choice, and with their eyes open, in a Church which, on their theory, is all the time imposing sinful terms of Communion. But, it may be said, laymen do not promise to use the forms in the Prayer Book "and none other." To them, it needs to be pointed out that—not every circumstance attending the institution of the Lord's Supper formed part of the Divine rite. For example, the semi-recumbent position; the 'celebrant' dressed like the rest in the every-day garb of a layman, and facing the communicants (who could not else have witnessed the scene which they describe to us); the exclusion not only of women, but of "the disciples" other than the chosen twelve; the words addressed in the plural to the whole company, and *not* to each communicant; the absence of any symbolical 'breaking' of the bread prior to its breaking for distribution; the total consumption of the 'body' before the 'blood' even *began to be* 'consecrated'; the "upper room," and the post-prandial hour—these, which are all directly mentioned, or necessarily implied in the story of the Evangelists, and of St. Paul are, notwithstanding, no part of the "Lord's Supper." Even the so-called "words of institution" not only differ in the Missal (and even, though in a less degree, in the Prayer Book) from any one of the inspired versions, but the words "hoc est *enim* corpus meum," which in

the Missal are printed in large capitals as being supposed to effect the miracle of Transubstantiation, have been altered—both by addition and by subtraction—from the words actually used by Christ Himself at the original institution.

We have no certain evidence that our Lord used watered wine, still less that He 'mixed' the cup Himself. Some of the more learned Ritualists themselves admit this. Archdeacon Freeman says: "On the whole I think it improbable that our Lord mixed the cup."[3] Mr. Scudamore admits "it is not absolutely certain (1) because in instituting a new ordinance He was not bound to follow in every particular that ancient rite on which He modelled it; and especially He was free (if I may so speak) in regard to the cup of wine, the use of which was only a tradition of the elders, and not prescribed by the Divine law; and (2) because although 'they commonly mixed water' with the wine, it was not considered essential, their rule being 'if anyone has drunk the wine pure, and not mingled with water, he has done his duty'; and (3) because there was no certain tradition to that effect among the first Christians; Origen even affirming, as from the Scripture, that the sacrament was instituted with unmixed wine."[4]

Dr. Edersheim thinks it probable that *hot* water was used at the Paschal supper.[5] And the Greek Church to this day orders *boiling* water to be poured thrice into the consecrated wine. Their rubric runs, "*The deacon taking boiling water, says to the priest,* Sir, bless this holy heat (*ζέσιν*). *And the priest blesses it, saying,* Blessed be the fervour of thy saints always, now and for ever, and to endless ages.—Amen. *But the deacon pours it into the holy cup crosswise, saying,* The fervour of faith, full of the Holy Ghost.—Amen. *And this he does thrice.*"[6] "The Latin omission of this rite is noted in the Nomo-Canon of the Greeks as a mark of heretical pravity."

We read in 2 Maccabees xv.-39, "for as it is hurtful to drink

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[3] Rites and Ritual, p. 77.
[4] Notitia Eucharistica, p. 392.
[5] The Temple, its Ministry and Services, p. 204, note.
[6] Goar, pp. 81, 175.

wine or water alone; and as wine mingled with water is pleasant and delighteth the taste: even so speech," &c. But this book was written by Greek-speaking Jews, who did not live in Palestine, but in a country in which the wine required to be mixed with water to form a beverage. This was the reason why the Jews of the Dispersion came to mingle their Paschal cup. Orientals living in Palestine, Syria, and Arabia to this day mix their wine with strengthening ingredients. Thus in Scripture we find that men were "of strength to mingle strong drink." When wine was mixed with water it was in order that it might be drunk more freely and in larger quantities. "Since our Saviour, then, did not sit at meat with His disciples for good cheer, and since pure wine only was allowed at the Jewish sacrifices (although the Passover partook more of the character of a feast than of a sacrifice), it is obviously more likely that the wine He blessed and drank was pure, than that it was mixed with water."[7] Neither would our Saviour have called it "the fruit of the vine," or, as Clement of Alexandria and Cyril of Jerusalem both term it, "the blood of the vine," had it been a mixture. "For the vine produces wine, not water," says St. Chrysostom.[8] If the "fruit of the vine" does not mean wine there is no authority in the Gospels for employing wine at the Lord's Supper. [*See* 1 Cor. xi.-21.]

The earliest account of a celebration appears to be that in the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," which says, cap. ix., "First, with regard to the cup, 'We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of thy child David.'" So, Clement of Alexandria said, "He poured out for us the wine of the vine of David, that is to say, His blood."[9]

The Jewish Rabbinical writers of the Middle Ages do not agree as to their 'tradition.'

Lightfoot[10] says he that drank pure wine performed his duty; so that, although it seems probable that our Lord used the mixed

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[7] Dr. S. C. Malan's "Two Holy Sacraments," p. 268.

[8] *See* Cranmer's "Answer to Gardiner," p. 274.

[9] Didachē, Spence, p. 41.

[10] Temple Service, I.-691.

cup, yet it is not certain He did so. Buxtorf[11] says it was indifferent whether the cup was mixed or not; and in his 'Synagoga Judaica," where he gives full details of the Passover, does not mention a cup of wine diluted with water.[12]

The true origin of the mixed chalice was probably the fact that watered wine being used at the Agape,[13] or love feast which then accompanied the Lord's Supper, the same mixture was naturally adopted into that rite as a matter of pure indifference; just as on the other hand leavened bread, as being "usual to be eaten with other meats" was almost universally adopted. [*See* Scudamore, Not. Euch. p. 864.]

When the doctrine of transubstantiation came into vogue, this added water was a difficulty to the Roman 'theologians.' Was the water, too, transubstantiated? and, if not, did it break the priest's fast? Moreover would it not involve an act of idolatry to "bow down before" the untransubstantiated 'creature'? Some Romish writers held that "the water is not converted into wine, but that the water and the wine are *severally* converted into blood." In support of this view Baronius tells a story how a piece of the Host fell accidentally into a vessel containing water, and that the water was thereupon "changed into blood."[14]

But the Catechism of Trent tells us that "according to the opinion and judgment of ecclesiastical writers, that water is converted into wine" before being (by a second miracle) transubstantiated.[15]

Yet before the Reformation an English Bishop, at his conse-

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[11] De Primæ Coenæ Ritibus et Forma, § 20.

[12] Bp. Tully Kingdon says, "It is very doubtful indeed whether the supper at which the Lord instituted the blessed sacrament was, or was intended to be, the usual paschal supper" (Fasting Communion, p. 341), and Mr. Scudamore, in his second edition, p. 861, says "in the first edition I spoke with too much confidence of the use of unleavened bread at the last supper."

[13] In Marriott's Vestiarium Christianum, Pl. xvi., is an inscription, "Irene da calida[m] Agape misce mi[hi]" which seems to refer to the use of *hot* water at a love feast. From the cemetery of Marcellinus and Peter at Rome.

[14] Scudamore, p. 391.

[15] Pars II. de Euch. Sacr. c. xviii.

cration, was only required to answer affirmatively the following question :—"Do you believe that *the wine* mixed with water, which is put into the chalice to be consecrated, is truly and essentially converted into the blood which by the soldier's spear flowed from the wound in the Lord's side?"

The importance attached to this apocryphal miracle by Ritualists is shown by the fact that the Rev. T. W. Perry, formerly a member of the Royal Commission on Ritual, and since member of the Council of the E.C.U., published in 1857 a selection of ancient Canons still in force. From the Canons of Abp. Walter, A.D. 1195, he selects this one—

"A priest may not celebrate mass twice a day, unless the necessity be urgent. When he does, let nothing be poured into the chalice after the receiving of the Blood at the first celebration; but let the least drops be diligently supped out of the chalice, and the fingers sucked or licked with the tongue and washed, and the washings kept in a clean vessel to be had for this purpose; which washings are to be drunk after the *second* celebration."

The rinsing water, *not being transubstantiated*, might otherwise break the priest's fast. Mr. Perry adds, in a parallel column, this note :—"All these laws are still in force, and might be a most useful and very practical guide to the clergy of the Church of England." ("Lawful Church Ornaments," p. 478.)

The rabbis of Ritualism "strain out" the gnat of two or three drops of water, while swallowing the camel of the entire withdrawal of the cup, which the Saviour expressly bade "ALL" to drink!

Is not this a "teaching *for doctrines* the commandments of men"?

The 'symbolism' imputed to this watering of the wine was very various. Some said it 'symbolised' cleansing and redemption; others, Christ and the Church; others, the two natures in Christ; others, the water from the Rock; others, the water and the blood which flowed from the side of Christ. This last, might seem at first sight plausible, till we call to mind that the *separation* of the water from the blood (as a token and proof of the finished "sacrifice of the death of Christ"), is not in any way

represented by the commingling of the two elements, so to as make the water invisible. Moreover, it was the constant teaching of the Fathers that just as "the mother of all living" was formed from the side of the first Adam, so the water from the side of Christ was a type of Baptism and witnessed to the unique character of the TWO Sacraments, by which the Bride of the Second Adam is formed. [*See* Pusey's Tract 67, p. 298.] The Armenian Church has *never* used water; and though they were censured by certain councils, it was not for their refusal to 'mix,' but for denying that the mixture was even lawful.[16] The ancient Church of Ireland did not use it.[17] The Syriac "Liturgy of St. James" is innocent of the practice, though the interpolated Greek versions mention it, not, however, always in the same terms.[18]

As to the proportion of the two ingredients, the custom varied from one-third water, to two drops. By some Churches it was added at a preliminary service; by others poured ceremonially into the 'blood' already consecrated. In none of these varying usages was there anything which can properly be termed 'Catholic.'

"Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying" (Art. xxxiv.). And the first essential to 'edifying' is that all things be done according to pre-arranged 'order' (τάξιν, 1 Cor. xiv.-40). "*The appointment of the which order appertaineth not to private men,*" as the Preface to the Prayer Book says. It is in the defence of our Christian liberties no less than in subjection to lawful authority, that we are bound to resist every attempt to make the Mixed Chalice compulsory upon

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[16] S. Thomas Aquinas, cited by Trevor on Eucharist, p. 445.

[17] Scudamore, p. 390.

[18] Renaudot, ii.-126. "In the Apostolic Constitutions in Coptic, no mention is made of water, but only of bread and wine being *p-smot*, the figure or semblance of the body and blood of Christ, with milk and honey." ("Malan on Ritualism," p. 97.)

unwilling laymen at the mere caprice of individual priests. Yet Mr. Berdmore Compton contends that it is even now binding by Canon Law.[19]

Mr. Maskell, in the Preface to his "Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England" (1846, p. cxxxv.), notwithstanding his strong Roman sympathies, stated the rule very clearly long before it came before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council:—

"It is not necessary that every ancient practice which is no longer to be observed, should particularly be mentioned: the mere omission of directions must, in many cases, be allowed to be sufficient. More than this; the Statute 1 Eliz. c. 1' [2?] 'which enforces the Act of 2nd & 3rd Edwd. c. 1.'[20] 'ordains that all ministers shall be bound to say, and use the mattens, evensong, administration of each of the sacraments, and all other common and open prayer, in such order and form as is *mentioned in* the said book so authorised by Parliament, and none other, or other*wise*."

That Statute is part of the existing Prayer Book (though illegally omitted in copies published by the S.P.C.K.), and is directly applied to it by the last Act of Uniformity. Mr. Maskell's conclusion seems therefore to be irresistible:—

"The wise and proper course for the minister of the Church of England to pursue must be to consecrate wine only without any mixture of water. The intention and object with which anciently the mixture was ordered were mystical and to be signified by a public adding of the water to the wine, that those who were present might see, and acknowledge its hidden meaning, so that if this mixture be not public as of old, and explained to the people, the purpose of it must be lost, and disobedience to the rubric be accompanied by no reasonable benefit whatever."

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[19] Report of Eccl. Courts Commission, Vol. 2, Q. 2784.

[20] Rather, 5 & 6, Ed. VI. c. 1.

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8th Thousand.]

ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE

RESPECTING THE

ORNAMENTS RUBRIC.

No. II.

In "Additional Evidence respecting the Ornaments Rubric," No. I., Dean Durel and Abp. Sancroft, with *every* bishop who took any part in the last revision of the Prayer Book, were produced as witnesses that our present 'rubric' was understood by its first framers to require precisely the same "Ornaments of the Minister" which had been in use under the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, and the Canons of 1604, viz. the surplice and hood at the administration of sacraments in parish churches. Two whole years had elapsed between the Restoration of Charles II. and the enactment of our present Rubric, during which time the surplice and hood had been the *only* "Ornaments of the Minister" anywhere to be seen in parish churches where the Liturgy was retained and in use.

We are able to show that it was the intention of the Legislature to re-enact that *status quo ante*. On March 16th, 1661, there came from the King to the House of Lords a *proviso*, which was adopted (after certain small verbal amendments) by the House of Lords, giving to the King power to dispense with rubrical conformity in the case of any worthy incumbent who —like Richard Baxter at Kidderminster—was then in actual possession of a living. This proviso ran: "That no such minister shall be deprived or lose his benefice or other ecclesiastical promotion for not wearing *the* surplice or for not signing with the sign of the cross in baptism."[1] This proviso was, however, disallowed by the Commons, who by their spokesman, Serjeant Charlton, explained the reasons of their dissent, viz.: "That it would unavoidably establish schism. All persons of different inclinations would apply to such as should have this liberty, and that necessarily make parties, especially in great cities. . . . The gentleman added that he thought it better to impose no ceremonies than to *dispense with any;* and he thought it very incongruous, at the same time when you are settling uniformity, to establish schism."[2]

Thus the House of Commons refused to "dispense with *any*" ceremony required by the new Prayer Book, while the King, Lords, and Commons alike recognised 'the' surplice as being the bone of contention in 1662. In determining the meaning of

[1] Swainson's Hist. Act of Uniformity, p. 45. [2] Swainson, p. 59.

the Act of Uniformity, the intention of the Legislature is evidently of more importance than the proposals of Divines.

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In 1667 a Bill was brought into Parliament by the Government of the day for the relief of those who felt aggrieved by the Act of Uniformity. Sir Matthew Hale, Chief Baron (afterwards Chief Justice), Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord Keeper, and Sir Robert Atkins (afterwards Chief Baron), were all living at the time of the passing the Act of Uniformity, and were parties to the proposed relief Bill.

"In this Bill it was proposed that the use of the surplice should be left indifferent and discretionary, but nothing was said of any other Eucharistic vestments, to which the nonconforming clergy would have felt far greater repugnance than to the surplice, and from which they would doubtless have been protected by an express provision in that Bill for their relief, if the framers of the Bill had supposed those vestments to be required by law. In the opinion of those great lawyers, those Eucharistic vestments were not required by the Act of Uniformity; and inasmuch as the Act of Uniformity was designed, as its title shows, and as Lord Clarendon and Abp. Sheldon affirmed, for the very purpose of securing one uniform ritual, those vestments are not lawful, even on the ground of Statute Law." The preamble to the Act of Uniformity avows its "intent that every person within this Realm may certainly know the rule to which he is to conform."

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Thus, in addition to the evidence given in No. I. of the official translator of the Liturgy, of the Secretary to the Revision at every stage of its progress, of the Revisers themselves, and of the Ordinaries who enforced the provisions of the new book, we have now the witness of the King, Lords, and Commons in 1662, and again in 1667. To these might be added the negative testimony of a long string of Nonconformists who complained only of the "three nocent ceremonies," viz. 'the' surplice, cross in baptism, and kneeling at Holy Communion.[3]

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Richard Baxter, the leader of the Nonconformists, died on December 8th, 1691, and in 1690 appeared a second edition, "amended and corrected," of his "English Nonconformity, as under King Charles II. and King James II., truly stated and argued."

In this, his latest Apologia, Baxter enumerates "forty points of ministers' conformity" to which he took exception. As the book is scarce, and has not before been referred to in this controversy, it is best to reprint the entire chapter.

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[3] See Lord Selborne's Notes on the Liturgy, p. 54.

"Chap. XX. Point XVII. *Of Consenting to all the Ornaments of Church and Ministers that were in use in the Second year of King* Edw. 6.

L. *WHAT have you against this?*

M. The words are, [*That such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, at all times of their Ministration, shall be retained in use as were in this Church of* England *by the Authority of Parliament in the Second year of King* Edw. 6.]

Against this we have these Exceptions.

1. We know not what was then in use, and therefore cannot consent to we know not what.

2. We are told that the Albe, and many other Ornaments were then in use that are since put down, and we must not consent to restore them, without more reason than we hear. And the Canon enumerating the Ornaments *now*, we suppose the addition of all those will contradict it.

3. We meet with few Conformists that know what was then in use. *And we see that all those that subscribe or consent to this, yet use them not.* And we will not run for company into a solemn Covenant consent, to the use of those things that we see *no body* use. The second year of King *Edw.* 6, was the minority of the Reformation, and before we consent to make it our pattern, we must know what it was, and whether no Act of Parliament have since reversed that which then was used?"

His "thirtieth point" was "Of Canon 58, that maketh the surplice necessary to ministration"; and about a score of the Canons of 1604 were also adduced by him as furnishing various 'points' of objection in 1690.

It will be seen that although twenty-eight years had elapsed since the new 'rubric' came into force, not one of the conforming clergy had used the ornaments of 1548, which Baxter admits had been "put down." Moreover, the 58th Canon, which confessedly does 'contradict' the Rubric of 1549, was admitted by Baxter to "enumerate the ornaments *now*." Indeed, so purely speculative and theoretical was his "Point xvii.," that he had to confess that he did not even know what "the many other ornaments" were to which he vaguely refers as "all those."

"Dolus latet in generalibus." At the Savoy Conference these same unknown ornaments of the Elizabethan 'Rubric' had been described by Baxter and his friends as "the cope, albe, &c., and other vestments."[4] But this last term expressed only ignorance as Baxter at last candidly avows, though he claims with justice that "few Conformists" were any better informed than himself.

It is undoubtedly true that ignorance as to ritual matters was almost universal[5] at that time. For the very few copies of the first Prayer Book of Edward which had survived the destruction

[4] Card. Conf. p. 314.

[5] Bishop Cosin was no exception to this statement. His blunders as to the two Prayer Books of King Edward were of the grossest kind. *See* CHURCH INTELLIGENCER, 1885, Vol. II., pp. 115, 116, 117.

caused by the Proclamation of Philip and Mary in 1555[6] were, as L'Estrange in his preface, and Collier[7] testify, hardly at all known. Cosin's son-in-law, Dean Granville, had not even seen the book till 1683, though he "had searched for it a great while with great diligence" till he found it at last in the Bodleian.[7a] The only reprint then accessible was in the first edition of Hamon L'Estrange's "Alliance of Divine Offices," published in 1659, where the "Certain Notes" at the *end* of the first Prayer Book were printed by themselves in a column parallel to the so-called Elizabethan 'Rubric.' To enable everyone to understand how this evidence presented itself in 1661, a copy of page 63 of L'Estrange's first edition (1659) is given on the opposite page, where the "Common Prayer" means, of course, the printed book of King James I. referred to in the 80th Canon.

It will be seen that these "Certain Notes" (as printed in column 1) required only the surplice and hood for clergymen under the degree of a Bishop. Hence arose a tradition widely prevalent in 1661 that the surplice only was prescribed by the first Prayer Book. Strange as it may seem to us, that view was taken by Dr. Cornelius Burges (1660) and Prynne (1661) on the side of the Puritans, as well as by Savage, the Master of Balliol and Chaplain to Charles II., who replied to them.[8] Even Bp. Wren, when he wrote in 1641, held the same view.[9] And the really learned Joseph Bingham, when replying directly to this very chapter of Baxter's, quoted the Rubric from the *end* of the first Prayer Book, and added :—

"This it was that led Mr. B. into his mistake. He had heard something of albes and other ornaments in use in King Edward's time, but he unluckily put the Bishop's robes upon every private minister: whereas no other ornament belonged to them but only the hood or surplice, the one enjoined, the other allowed or recommended."

He then quotes the 58th Canon, and concludes triumphantly, "Where is now the contradiction between this Canon and the Rubrics? They all speak of surplices and hoods, but of no other ornaments belonging to private ministers."[10] Nor was this peculiar to Bingham. Dr. C. Burges, who had been one of the Committee of Divines in 1641, writing in 1660 said, "The book of 2 Ed. VI. enjoins only a surplice in parish churches and chappels. See *last page* of that book, where are Notes for explanation."[11]

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[6] Doc. Ann. i.-167. Even Abp. Whitgift had not seen a copy. (Strype's Whitgift, App. 55.)

[7] Hist. Eccl. v.-282. "The book is very scarce. I grant it may be met with by parts" in L'Estrange.

[7a] 'Correspondence,' Surtees Soc. I.-172.

[8] Droop, Ed. Vest., pp. 65-70.

[9] Parentalia, p. 92. Ed. 1750.

[10] Bingham's Works, viii.-114.

[11] Reasons showing the Necessity of a Reformation, p. 12. The chapter is headed "some of the differences and alterations in the present Common Prayer Book from the Book *established by Law*, in quinto and sexto Edw. 6, and 1 Eliz."

CHAP. III.

The order where Morning and Evening Prayer ſhall be used and ſaid.

Common Prayer.

Omitted in the 1. B. of Edw. 6.

The morning and Evening Prayer ſhall be used in the accuſtomed place of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel, (B) *except it ſhall be otherwiſe determined by the Ordinary of the Place.* (C) *And the Chancels ſhall remain as they have done in times past.*

2 B. of Edw. 6.

The morning and Evening Prayer ſhall be used in ſuch places of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel, and the Minister ſhal ſo turn him as the people may best hear. And if there be any controverſie therein, the matter ſhall be referred to the Ordinary, and he or his deputy ſhall appoint the place. And the Chancels ſhall remain as they have done in times paſt.

1. B. of *Edw.* 6.

In the saying of Mattens and Even-ſong, Baptizing & Burying, the Minister in Pariſh Churches and Chappels annext to the ſame (E) *ſhall uſe a Surplice. And in all Cathedral Churches and Colledges, the Arch-Deacons, Deans, Provoſts, Maſters, Prebendaries and fellows being Graduates, may uſe in the quire, beſides their Surplices, ſuch hoods as pertaine to their ſeveral degrees, which they have taken in any univerſity within this Realm. But in all other places every Minister ſhall be at liberty to uſe any Surplice or no. It is also seemly that Graduats when they do preach ſhould uſe such hoods as pertaine to their ſeveral degrees.*

And whenſoever the Biſhop ſhall celebrate the holy Communion in the Church, or execute any other publick miniſtration: he ſhall have upon him beſide his Rochet a Surplice or Alb, and a Cope or Veſtment, and alſo his Paſtoral ſtaffe ni his hand, or elſe born or holden by his Chaplain.

The Common Prayer.

And here is to be noted, that the Miniſter at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his miniſtration ſhall use (D) such ornaments in the Church as were in use by Authority of Parliament in the 2. year of the reign of King *Edw.* the 6th according to the act of Parliament ſet in the beginning of the Book.

Scotch Liturgy.

And here is to be noted, that the presbyter or Miniſter at the time of the Communion, and at other times of his miniſtration, ſhall uſe ſuch Ornaments in the Church, as are preſcribed, or ſhall be by his Majesty or his ſucceſſors according to the Act of Parliament provided in that behalf.

2. Book *of Edw.* 6.

And here is to be noted, that the Miniſter at the time of the Communion and at all other times in his miniſtration ſhall uſe neither Alb, Veſtment, nor cope, but being Arch-Biſhop, or Bishop he ſhall have and wear a Rochet, and being a Prieſt or Deacon, he ſhall have and wear a ſurplice only.

Archdeacon Sharp, writing in 1735, said:—

"So that the injunction concerning the habits and ornaments of ministers, which is *at the end* of King Edward's first Service Book, with its explanation in the Act of Uniformity by Q. Elizabeth, is the legal or statutable rule of our Church habits at this day."[12]

A very popular book at one time was "The Clergyman's Vade Mecum," by John Johnson of Cranbrook, of which the second edition appeared in 1706. The writer said:—

"There must likewise be in every parish church and chapel, a surplice, which the minister is obliged to use, in saying mattins, evensong, baptizing, burying, etc., in churches and parochial chapels; the minister in other places shall have liberty to use any surplice or no, by a Rubric *at the end* of Ed. VI.'s Common Prayer Book, authorized in the second year of his reign, and enforced by the Rubric immediately before Morning Prayer in our present Liturgy." In the third edition (1709) the writer had at length discovered "the occasion of which mistake was, that we looked no further, than to the long rubric at the *end* of that book" (p. 21, note).

In our own day Canon Trevor has vindicated this view,[13] urging that the special Rubrics at the beginning of the Communion office of 1549 disappeared together with that special office, and that the Sacrificial Vestments were never in the Church "BY authority of *Parliament*" in the sense in which the surplice and hood and the eucharistic cope exclusively were.

It is highly probable that this belief (whether mistaken or not) made the acceptance of the revised "Ornaments Rubric" a mere matter of course in 1662. No debate or discussion whatever appears to have arisen respecting it in Convocation.[14] The list of 'alterations' prefixed to the book in which all the important changes were carefully entered up during the revision of 1661 does not even allude to any change in the wording of the Ornaments Rubric. A footnote to the list, explains: "These are all ye materiall alterations: ye rest are onely verball: or ye changing of some Rubrics for ye better performing of ye service: or ye new moulding of some of ye collects."

The slight regard thus paid by Convocation to the change in the Rubric is fatal to the Ritualistic contention that Cosin and his brother bishops *designed* to repeal, by means of it, the Injunctions of 1559, the royal Advertisements of 1566, and the 58th Canon, in order to reinstate in 1662 the sacrificial vestments of 1548. The Committee of Revision, presided over by Bp. Wren, expunged from the Elizabethan 'Rubric' the words which, by differentiating "the Holy Communion and all *other* times," might have seemed to imply a distinctive dress for Holy Communion. Wren had himself urged in 1660—

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[12] Sharp on the Rubric, p. 208.
[13] In his "Disputed Rubrics," p. 45.
[14] Parker's Hist. Revis., p. 409.

"But what is now fit to be ordered herein, and to preserve those that are still in use, it would be set down in express words, without *these uncertainties which breed nothing but debate and scorn.* The very words too of that Act, 2 Ed. VI., for the minister's ornaments, would be set down, or to pray to have a new one made; for *there is somewhat in that Act that* NOW *may not be used.*"[15]

"These uncertainties," and the 'somewhat,' again indicate the thickness of the fog in which all parties at that time found themselves, owing to the crooked policy of Elizabeth (or her Council), in tampering with the Ornaments Rubric of 1552, which had been re-enacted in 1559 by the first section of 1 Eliz. c. 2. It is now admitted on all hands that Elizabeth struck out the two authorised Rubrics before morning prayer, and substituted for them two perfectly unauthorised 'Rubrics' in the book as actually printed in 1559. Yet the Act 5 & 6 Edw. VI., which established the *second* Prayer Book of Edward, was in 1559 reinstated, "only concerning the said book . . . with the alteration and additions *therein* added and appointed by" 1 Eliz. c. 2, among which the Rubrics as *printed* assuredly were *not*. That pious fraud was the fruitful parent of unnumbered mischiefs to the Church. The illegal alterations in the first Rubric as to "the accustomed place' were detailed in the CHURCH INTELLIGENCER for September, 1884. The Puritans were well within their legal rights when, as in 1641, their "Committee of Divines" pointed out as an 'innovation' the "putting *to* the Liturgy *printed* 'secundo tertio Edwardi sexti,' which the Parliament hath reformed and set aside."[16]

So again, at the Savoy Conference, the 'Ministers' said, "forasmuch as this Rubric[17] seemeth to bring back the cope, albe, &c., and other vestments *forbidden by the Common Prayer Book* 5 *&* 6 *Ed. VI.* . . . we desire it may to be wholly left out": and "we desire that the words of the first rubric may be expressed as in *the book by authority of Parliament* 5 *&* 6 *Ed. VI.*"[18]

The meaning and force of the words which we have italicised in these extracts, seem to have escaped Dr. Cardwell, and even Lord Selborne and Mr. Droop. That meaning is nevertheless perfectly clear, viz. that by the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity (1 Eliz. c. 2), the *second* Prayer Book of Edward (*including* the Rubrics in that book, which prescribed the place where morning prayer should be said, and the dress of the minister), was in full legal force, the Statute of 5 & 6 Ed. VI. having been expressly revived. The actual text of the two Rubrics of 1552 ought therefore to have been 'printed,' in 1559,

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[15] Jacobson's Fragments, p. 55. [16] Card. Conf. p. 273.

[17] *i.e.* The Fraud-Rubric of Elizabeth.

[18] Card. Conf. p. 314. Even Bp. Cosin recognised that "the Act of Uniformity doth not specify this alteration, or receding from the form of the fifth of Ed. VI." (Works v.-438.)

and of course the Rubrics substituted for them by Elizabeth to "be wholly left out."

Had the Puritan party been content merely to insist upon the illegality of the 'printed' Rubric of 1559, their position would have been impregnable, and they would consequently have been justified in contending that the "Injunctions and Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth are not in force but by way of commentary and imposition."[19] For the Injunctions of 1559 really did enforce the Rubric of 1552; and the Advertisements of Elizabeth did 'impose' the cope in cathedral churches, and other additions to the simple Rubric of 1552.

Unhappily, the Puritans illustrate the old saw, that "oppression maketh a wise man mad." They were far more anxious to throw blame upon the bishops, and to accuse the conforming clergy of breaking the law, than to vindicate the Rubric of 1552, to which, in fact, they themselves refused to conform. It was the Puritans of the baser sort, like Barrow and Greenwood,[20] who first affected to doubt the royal authority of Elizabeth's Advertisements, in order to throw odium upon the bishops, as Bp. Cox (one of the revisers of the book of 1552) complained.[21]

It was from the more obscure, and from anonymous writers of the Puritan party that the Ritualists have borrowed their two favourite pretences, that the Advertisements had merely episcopal authority, and that the Mass vestments were in strict law binding upon all the clergy under the spurious 'Rubric' of Elizabeth.

But every one of the bishops, from Abp. Parker down to Abp. Sancroft, steadily treated these pretences as being unreal, far-fetched, and captious. They did so at the Savoy Conference. Had Baxter candidly desired to know "whether no Act of Parliament had since [1548] reversed that which was then so used," the needed information lay ready to his hand in the published writings of Sparrow, L'Estrange, and Heylyn, all of whom testified that the Advertisements of 1566 had been duly issued under the penultimate section of the 1 Eliz. c. 2, a Statute which so far from being repealed was in 1662 expressly incorporated into our present Prayer Book as the standard of legal Ritual. It is instructive to note that all that Baxter could urge in reply was the "tradition of the elders" of his party—"We are *told*" so and so. At the Hampton Court Conference that tradition had been either forgotten or laid aside as discredited. The history of its revival in our own day was detailed in the CHURCH INTELLIGENCER, Vol. III., pp. 46, 114, and is instructive as showing the evidential value of 'Tradition.'

[19] Card. Conf. p. 273. [20] Strype's Whitgift, 1-414. [21] Zurich Letters. i.-235.

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THE DOCTRINE

OF

A 'SPIRITUAL' PRESENCE,

AS TAUGHT BY THE RITUALISTS.

THE Ritualists elevate the consecrated bread "for the worship of the faithful;" they teach that the wicked, who eat this consecrated bread, must needs eat the flesh of Christ,[1] and that the napkins and vessels used in the celebration of the Lord's Supper do so literally "touch Christ" that "the linen cloth upon which has been laid the Lord's Body" must be "first washed by a clerk in holy orders," after which mechanical process, it "may be touched by laics again."[2]

This plainly *looks* as though they believed in that "Corporal Presence" which the Church of England rejects in the last Rubric at the end of the Communion Service.

But the Ritualists deny that they teach any "Corporal Presence" of the Lord's Body in the Eucharist. They say that they hold that the Lord's Body is present *after the manner of a spirit*, just as a man's soul inhabits his body; and this presence they call a 'Spiritual' presence.[3]

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[1] Hence Dr. Littledale, in his "People's Hymnal," hymn 187, sings of Judas Iscariot—

> "Thou hast stretched those hands for silver
> That had held the immortal food;
> With those lips that late had tasted
> Of the Body and the Blood."

Compare Art. XXIX. Jeremy Taylor said:—"He that receives unworthily, receives no benefit... therefore he that receives benefit to his body, receives it by his worthy communicating; therefore the benefit reaching to the body by the holy eucharist comes to it by the soul; therefore by the action of the soul, not the action of the body; therefore by faith, and not by the mouth." (Real Presence, sec. vii.-8, Eden's Edit. VI.-70.)

[2] Directorium Anglicanum, 2nd edition, pp. 60, 96, 203.

[3] Perry on Kneeling, *passim*. Denison-Pusey Declaration, First Report of Ritual Commission, p. 128.

Now, it can be shown that *this* doctrine of a 'Spiritual' presence was

I. Defended by the Papists, and denied by the Reformers at the time of the Reformation.
II. Involves a meaningless self-contradiction.
III. And is not sanctioned by 1 Cor. xv.-44.

I.

Bishop Gardiner, Cranmer's antagonist, said: "The Catholic teaching is, that the manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament is spiritual, and supernatural, *not corporal*—but only spiritual."[4]

Langdale, disputing with Ridley in 1549, said that Christ was in the Sacrament "invisibly, indeed spiritually and sacramentally."[5]

Harding, the Jesuit, affirmed against Bishop Jewel that the Body is present, "not after corporal, carnal, or natural wise, but . . . . supernaturally, *spiritually*," *&c.* (Jewel's Works, I., p. 455, Parker Soc.)

Cardinal Bellarmine says that Christ is not present "after that manner which is natural to *corporal* things, ... but according to the manner of existence *proper to Spirits*, whole and entire in each part of the Host." (Cosin's "Hist. Transub.," Cap. III. Vol. IV., p. 43, A-C. L.)

And that this was the generally admitted doctrine of the Romanists Bishop Burnet recognised when he remarked that "the assertors of Transubstantiation itself . . . . . say the Body is not present corporally, but spiritually, or as a spirit is present."[6]

The phrase "Corporal presence" is used sometimes to describe the *nature* of the thing present, viz., a body (corpus), sometimes to indicate the *mode* of that presence, viz., after the *manner of* a body.

Gardiner explained that "if the word corporally be referred to the manner of the presence, then we should say Christ's Body were present after a corporal manner—*which we say not*, but in a spiritual manner."[7] The Church of England avoids all ambiguity by denying "ANY corporal presence" within the sacramental elements. This phrase was substituted—after the Great Rebellion, when reverence for the Holy Sacrament had been unduly lowered—instead of "real and essential presence." For a "real and essential presence" to the faithful of the slain Body and *shed* Blood of Christ by its virtue, efficacy, and grace in the right use of the ordinance (as distinguished

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[4] Cranmer's Works, Parker Society, i.-155.
[5] Foxe, Act and Mon., Ed. 1846, vi.-315.
[6] "Hist. Ref.," Pt. III., Preface, p. vii. Ed. 1829.
[7] Cranmer's Works, P. S. i.-89.

from a presence within the elements) was never denied by the Church of England. See Declaration on kneeling, at the end of Communion Service. In none of the authorised formularies, however, is the word 'presence' ever employed. For it is obvious that to speak of the 'presence' of a body must suggest its local residence in space. Hence Dr. Pusey adopted from the schoolmen the theory of a "supra-local," or non-local presence in the consecrated elements. Jeremy Taylor, however, had anticipated this verbal puzzle. He said: "I wish these words were sense, and that I could tell the meaning of being in a place locally and not locally, unless a thing can be in a place and not in a place, that is so to be *in*, that it is also out: but so long as it is a distinction it is no matter; it will amuse and make a way to *escape*, if it will do nothing else." (Real Presence, xi., sec. 21.)

To these rationalistic speculations of the Romanists *Cranmer* replied,[8] "I say that Christ is but spiritually in the *ministration* of the Sacrament, and you say that he is but after a spiritual manner IN the Sacrament." Again,

"Christ is not IN the bread neither *spiritually* as he is in man, nor corporally as he is in heaven, but only sacramentally—as a thing may be said to be in the figure whereby it is signified."

"For the effect of his godly eating is the communication of Christ's Body and Blood, but to the faithful receiver, and not to the dumb creatures of bread and wine, under whose forms the Catholic faith teacheth not the Body and Blood of Christ invisibly to be hidden."

"The Papists . . . . confound His two natures, His Godhead and His manhood, attributing unto His Humanity that thing which pertaineth only to His Divinity—that is to say, to be in heaven, earth and many places at one time. The other is that they divide and separate His human nature, or His Body,—making of one Body of Christ two Bodies and two natures,—one which is in heaven, visible and palpable, having all members and proportions of a most perfect natural man; and another which they say is in earth here with us, in every bread and wine that is consecrated, having no distinction, form, nor proportion of members."

Ridley (who rejected "the opinion of Melancthon"[9] as being further from the truth than Transubstantiation itself) taught[10] that the Body of Christ is "communicated and given, *not to the Bread and Wine*, but to them which worthily do receive the Sacrament"—"Not that Christ hath transfused grace into the Bread and Wine."

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[8] "Answer to Gardiner," pp. 91, 36, 238, 100.

[9] Foxe A. and M. vi.-436, cf. 505. Compare Cranmer, Works, i.-374.

[10] Works, Parker Soc., 240-1.

Latimer (Bp. and Martyr) distinguished thus, — Christ "delivered not His body to be taken by the mouth, but He delivered the sacrament *of* the body to the mouth, but the body itself to the mind."[11]

Hooper (Bp. and Martyr) said, "I believe that all this Sacrament consisteth in the use thereof; so that without the right use the bread and wine in nothing differ from other common bread and wine that is commonly used; and therefore I do not believe that the Body of Christ can be contained, hid, or inclosed in the bread, under the bread, or with the bread; neither the Blood in the wine, under the wine, or with the wine. But I believe and confess the very Body of Christ to be in heaven on the right hand of the Father; and that always and as often as we use this bread and wine according to the ordinance and institution of Christ, we do verily and indeed receive His Body and Blood."[12]

Coverdale (Bp. and Confessor) said, "But this thing is chiefly to be remembered, that we exclude all carnal imagination, and that the mind ought to be erected up into heaven, and that we think not our Lord Jesu Christ to be so vile that He may be contained in corruptible elements. Again, lest the force of this most sacred mystery should be diminished, we must think that it is wrought by the secret and wonderful power of God, and that His Spirit is the bond of this partaking, which is *for that cause* called 'spiritual.'[13]

Bishop Jewel said,[14] "We are plainly taught by the Catholic learned Fathers to put a difference between the Sacrament and the Body of Christ: and that one of them is not really lapped up, or shut within the other."

"And where he saith the Sacraments of the New Testament contain covertly under them the thing itself which they signify, verily this saying covertly containeth a great untruth."

"Christ is present unto us of His part 'only by His grace;' of our part 'only by our faith;' by the Sacraments only as by mean of outward instruments to move our senses."

Bishop Jeremy Taylor,[15] more clearly than any other writer, has pointed out the ambiguity which is involved in the phrase "Spiritual presence." "By *spiritually* they" (the Romanists) mean 'present after the manner of a spirit': by *spiritually* WE mean 'present *to our spirits only*'; that is, so as Christ is not present to any other sense but that of faith, or spiritual susception; but their way makes His Body to be present no way but that which is impossible, and implies a contradiction: a body not after the manner of a body: a body like a spirit: a body without a body; and a sacrifice of body and blood, with-

[11] Latimer's Remains, p. 487.
[12] Hooper's Works, ii.-48.
[13] Coverdale's Works, p. 465.
[14] Works, P. S. ii.-602, 1122, iii.-488.
[15] Real Presence, Sec. I-8, Works (Eden.) VI-17.

out blood: *corpus incorporeum, cruor incruentus*" (*i.e.*, a bodiless body, bloodless blood).

Thus they change the "spiritual eating" of a Body, into the *bodily* eating of a Spirit!

Well has Bp. Jewel exposed this confusion.[16]

"The eating of the Body of Christ is not gross or corporal, but ghostly and spiritual, as a peculiar *work of the mind.* . . . Here let us imagine that there are two men in every man, and that every man is flesh and spirit, body and soul. This man thus doubled must be furnished with double senses, bodily to serve the body, and spiritual to serve the soul. He must have eyes of the body, and eyes of the soul; ears of the body, and ears of the soul. . . . When we speak of the mystery of Christ, and of eating His Body, we must shut up and abandon all our bodily senses. And as we cannot say that we see Him with bodily eyes, or hear Him with our bodily ears, or touch Him with our bodily feeling: so likewise can we not, and therefore may we not say we taste Him, or eat Him with our bodily mouth."

II.

We have said that the Ritualistic Doctrine of a body present "after the manner of a spirit" is absurd. For, the only definite idea which we can form of a 'Spirit,' is the negative one, that it is *not* a body. To speak of a "spiritual Body" in that sense is as if we should talk of a square circle, a black white, or a solid liquid. Bp. Morley (who, as one of the last Revisers of the Prayer Book, procured the insertion of "the Black rubric" at the end of the Communion Service) observes: "A Body cannot be a body and no body, as it must be if it were a spirit; and nothing can have the presence or propriety of a spirit but a Spirit, and, consequently, nothing can be anywhere as a spirit but a Spirit." ("Vindication of the Argument from sense," 1683, p. 26.)

Yet the Ritualists employ the following language:—

"O see! *within* a creature's *hand*
The vast Creator deigns to be
Reposing infant-like, as though
On Joseph's arm, or Mary's knee.
Sweet Sacrament! we Thee adore!
O make us love Thee more and more!"
(*People's Hymnal.* Hymn 179.)

And they appropriate these lines, Hymn 178:—

"*Taste, and touch, and vision,* in Thee are deceived;
But the hearing *only* may be well believed."

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[16] Works, P. S., ii.-1117-9. In the "Liturgia sacra, seu ritus ministerii in ecclesia peregrinorum," published at Frankfort in 1554, by the English Marian exiles, we read, page 21, "Spiritualiter, hoc est, mentibus nostris revera exhiberi" corpus.

Such language amounts to a formal declaration of Transubstantiation, and implies that the combined evidence of three of our senses may be 'deceived,' in which case, what proof can we have of the Incarnation, or of the Resurrection of our Lord?

III.

It is true that the phrases "spiritual body" and "natural body" are contrasted in 1 Cor. xv.-44: and hence many have supposed that a material and an immaterial Body are there intended. But the word which is rendered 'natural' cannot possibly mean 'material.' That word is 'psychical,' *i.e.*, belonging to the soul (psychè, ψυχή), in contrast with 'pneumatic,' *i.e.*, belonging to the spirit (pneuma, πνεῦμα). Wycliffe renders 1 Cor. xv.-44 "a beastly body," meaning merely to convey the perfectly correct idea that the ψυχικόν σῶμα ("natural body" in our translation) is an *animal* body, or body controlled by the '*anima*' or soul, in contradistinction to the future 'spiritual' body which will be controlled wholly by the 'spirit.' Even Bellarmine wrote, "'It is raised a spiritual body,' *i.e.*, obedient to the spirit in all things." [See Bp. Thirlwall's Charge, 1869, p. 111.]

The 'soul' and 'spirit,' though frequently confounded, are quite distinct (see St. Luke i.-46; Phil. i.-27; Heb. iv.-12). Thus in 1 Thess. v.-23, the "Spirit, soul, and body" are carefully distinguished.

The Psychè (though sometimes used for the mere principle of animal life, Acts xxvii.-22) is that emotional part of our nature which we have in common with the lower animals (see St. Luke ii.-35, and xii.-19. St. John x.-24, Greek. Acts ii.-43. xiv.-2, Greek. Col. iii.-23). Hence the 'Psychè' is the seat of lusts (1 St. Peter ii.-11; Rev. xviii.-14), and corresponds to "the heart" in St. Mark vii.-21; and the adjective 'Psychical' is always used in a bad sense in the New Testament, as in 1 Cor. ii.-14; St. James iii.-15; St. Jude, 19.[17] So far, however, from implying anything *material*, "the soul" (Psychè) is contrasted with the Body (St. Matt. x.-28; Acts ii.-31) just as directly as the 'Spirit' is.

The spirit (Pneuma) is that higher part of our nature by which we know, and in the possession of which we resemble God (St. John iv.-24; Rom. viii.-16); but in which the brute creation are wholly deficient, viz., the "moral reason" (*i.e.*, reason and conscience), "the candle of the Lord" (Prov. xx.-27), which, when enlightened by the Holy Spirit, becomes the "spiritual understanding." (Col. i.-9.) When the Spirit of God has enabled the human spirit to regain its supremacy over both soul and body, the whole man's nature thus regenerated is called "the

[17] The usage of the Old Testament is similar. See Girdlestone's "Old Testament Synonyms," p. 99.

spirit," in opposition to the fallen nature of the *same* man, which is called "the flesh" (St. John iii.-6; Gal. v.-17). Therefore, just so far as human nature is conformed to the likeness of Adam, or of Christ, it is called "the old man," or "the new man." "The flesh" (σάρξ) must not be confounded with "the body" (σῶμα) (Rom. vii.-5; viii.-8), but includes the degraded spirit as well as the unbridled soul. For the Body is 'redeemed,' 'sanctified,' made one with Christ no less than the soul or spirit (Rom. viii.-23; 1 Thess. v.-23; 1 Cor. vi.-15, 19, 20). "This mortal" (*i.e.*, the body) "shall put on immortality." The title 'spiritual' when applied to bodily things by no means implies *immateriality*. Thus Manna was 'spiritual' meat, the rock in the wilderness was a 'spiritual' rock, the Church Hymns were 'spiritual' songs, and living *flesh-and-blood* men were 'spiritual' men (1 Cor. x.-3, 4; Eph. v.-19; 1 Cor. ii.-14, 15). The contrast is not between spiritual and material, but between spiritual and 'psychical;' so that a disembodied man may be 'psychical,' while one still in the flesh may be 'spiritual.' Our Blessed Lord's body was never at any time 'psychical.'

That our Lord's resurrection-body had not lost its nature as a body we know from His own words, "handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have," and he "did eat before them." (St. Luke xxiv.-39, 43.) During his lifetime that Body had possessed miraculous power of movement from place to place (St. Luke iv.-30; St. John viii.-56; St. Matt. xiv.-29); but to assert of a Body which is now whole and entire in the heavens (Acts i.-11, and iii.-21), that it *is at the same time* in many separate places, is (not to state a 'mystery,' but) a contradiction in terms. (See Article IV. of the Thirty-nine Articles.)

Let it not be forgotten that it was not His Glorified Body, but His Body in the act of "*being* broken," and His blood as "*being* shed" [present participles being used in both cases] which our Lord gave to His Disciples. "For the continual remembrance'—not of Christ triumphant in heaven, but—'of the Sacrifice of the *Death* of Christ" was the Lord's Supper ordained. So that, says Bishop Andrewes, "if an Host could be turned into Him now glorified as He is, *it would not serve;* Christ offered is it—thither we must look." "Christ's body that now is. True; but not Christ's body *as* now it is, but as then it was, when it was offered, rent, and slain, and sacrificed for us."[18]

The opposite doctrine was censured in the *Reformatio Legum* (drafted by Abp. Cranmer, and published by Abp. Parker), because "it so depraves the true body of Christ as either to induce upon it a divine nature, *spread over all places*, or to

[18] Sermons, Vol. II., p. 302, and 301. A-C. L.

manufacture out of it a sort of phantom."[19] And by Hooker, who said: "If His majestical Body have now any such new property by force whereof it may everywhere, even in substance, present itself, or may at once be in many places, then hath the majesty of His estate *extinguished the verity of His nature.*"[20]

Thus we have seen that the doctrine of the Ritualists as to the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist is—

I. Popish. II. Absurd. III. Unscriptural.

Whether they do or do not adopt the metaphysical theory called 'Transubstantiation' is of little moment. For a local worshipable presence of Christ IN the Elements being granted, what matters it whether the Elements do, or do not *also* remain? When the "King of Glory" is present, who cares to ask whether a bit of bread be there too?

But though it may be convenient to repudiate the *word* 'Transubstantiation,' their adoption of such hymns as we have quoted (all of them written by men who *avowedly* believed in Transubstantiation), and the language of their most thoughtful writers, alike show that between their doctrine and that of Rome "the contradiction is verbal rather than real; in language and not in thought."[21]

Nor is this wonderful, for upon this doctrine rest not only the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the adoration of the Host, but (as Bp. Hamilton expressed it) their possession of "the same powers which the priests of the rest of the Catholic Church, both in the east and west, have EVER claimed."

But it *is* wonderful how, with their views, they can continue to subscribe the Eucharistic Declaration, that "The *Natural* Body of Christ *is* in heaven, and not HERE."

J. T. T.

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[19] Cardwell's edition, p. 18. "Verum Christi corpus ita depravat, ut vel divinam in illud inducat naturam omnibus locis diffusam, vel ex eo spectrum aut machinam quandam comminiscatur, totum hoc papisticæ fæcis somnium auferri volumus."

[20] Eccl. Pol., v. lv., 6.

[21] Adn. R. Wilberforce's "Doctrine of the Eucharist," p. 128. Pusey's "Eirenicon," third edition, p. 229.

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THE TEACHING OF THE CATECHISM AS TO THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Q. How many Sacraments hath Christ ordained in His Church?

A. Two [1] only, as generally [2] necessary to salvation, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

[1] Hence, "those five commonly called Sacraments" by the Ritualists "are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel."*

[2] "Whereby ye may perceive the great necessity of this Sacrament, *where it may be had.*"†

¶ *But if any man, either by reason of extremity of sickness, or for want of warning in due time to the curate, or for lack of company to receive with him, or by any other just impediment, do not receive the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, the curate shall instruct him, that if he do truly repent him of his sins, and steadfastly believe that Jesus Christ hath suffered death upon the cross for him, and shed His Blood for his redemption, earnestly remembering the benefits he hath thereby, and giving Him hearty thanks therefore, he DOTH EAT and DRINK the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ profitably to his soul's health, although he do not receive the Sacrament* with his mouth.‡

Q. What meanest thou by this word SACRAMENT?

A. I mean an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace,§ given unto us, ordained by Christ Himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof.

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* Article 25.

† Second Exhort. in Office of Adult Baptism.

‡ Rubric in Communion of the Sick.

'Generally' is, perhaps, equivalent to generically: *i.e.* these 'two' differ in *kind* (in genere) from matrimony, holy orders, &c., which are means of grace only to certain individuals, and have no promise of forgiveness annexed to the due use of their outward rite. (*See* Homily of Common Prayer, &c.)

§ This comma after 'grace' has been illegally omitted from most printed Prayer Books; and its omission alters the meaning of the entire sentence. The word 'given' relates to the 'sign,' and was translated "signum gratiæ *quod* nobis datur" in the authorised Latin version issued by King Charles II. in 1670. The comma exists both in the folio and the small quarto Prayer Books of 1603-4, in the black-letter book in which Sancroft posted up the final alterations made by Convocation, in the MS. 'annexed' to the Act of Uniformity, in that attached to the Irish Act of Uniformity, and in all the sealed Prayer Books. In copying from Rymer's Foedera (*both* editions of which contain the comma after 'grace'), Cardwell's Hist. Conferences carelessly omits the comma. In 1850 Dr. Stephens pointed out the error in his "Notes Legal and Historical;" and in 1868 the Committee of the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation also reported the omission. Yet the S. P. C. K. continue to publish this incorrect version of the Church Catechism!

Observe 1. This is the definition of a theological term,—this WORD 'Sacrament.'

2. The word means "a sign OF grace;" *not* "a sign AND grace."*

3. 'Inward' and 'outward' relate respectively to the soul and body of the receiver, not to the sign. So "the inward and spiritual grace" of Baptism, viz. "a death unto sin, and a new birth," &c. are not contained in the water of the Font, but in the soul which dies, and is new born.

4. Put into the form of question and answer the sentence would stand thus :—

What sort of Sign is a 'Sacrament'?

a. An outward and visible.†

b. Of an inward and spiritual grace.

c. Given unto us.

d. Ordained by Christ Himself { (1) As a means. (2) As a pledge.

5. The words "*given* unto us" exclude from the definition of "a Sacrament" the "Reserved host," the unused (though consecrated) water in the font, and the wine which is withheld from lay communicants.

6. "Given *unto us*" also excludes *sacrifice* (*i.e.* a thing given by man *to* God) from the definition of "this word *Sacrament*." A Sacrament is essentially a thing given *by* God to man.‡

Q. How many parts are there in a Sacrament?

A. Two: the outward visible sign, and the inward spiritual grace.

Note 1. That to make *three* parts in the Lord's Supper§ is a departure from the teaching of the Catechism.

Note 2. This answer is not given as a definition of the meaning of the 'word,' but as a popular account of the nature of a Sacrament intended for young persons. So, Cranmer explained, "Sometimes by this word 'Sacrament,' I mean

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* St. Augustine said Sacraments "are signs of things, *being* one thing and *signifying* another." Ridley, just before his martyrdom, said—"Of late all that were endued with the light and grace of understanding of God's holy mysteries did bless God which had brought them out of that horrible blindness and ignorance, whereby in times past, being seduced by Satan's subtleties, they believed that the sacrament was not the sacrament, but the Thing itself *whereof* it is the sacrament, that the creature was the Creator, and that the thing which hath neither life nor sense (alas! such was the horrible blindness) was the Lord Himself, which made the eye to see, and hath given all senses and understanding unto man."—Foxe, A. and M. vii. 568.

† (*a*) Describes the sign. (*b*) Gives the thing signified. (*c*) Refers to the Form. (*d*) Specifies the Institution.

‡ "A sacrifice is a thing given to God: the Sacrament was a thing given to us. Nothing, therefore, can be of nature more contrary than your sacrifice and Christ's Sacrament."—Bp. Cooper's Answer to the Apology of the Private Mass, 1562, p. 88.

§ "Signum, res, *virtus*" is the Ritualistic substitute for the Church's definition.

the whole ministration and receiving of the Sacrament." * So a £5 note might be defined as "an outward and visible sign of £5, given to us, ordained . . . as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof." Yet in a popular practical explanation intended for children we might well say there are "two parts" to be considered in such a note, viz. "the outward visible sign" (*i.e.* the printed paper), and the £5 of which it is the "effectual sign." But no one should infer that five sovereigns must be "really present," actually wrapped in the folds or concealed in the texture of the paper before the "thing signified" could be received. In the Thirty-nine Articles (intended for Theologians) the word 'Sacrament' is never used in this looser sense. Thus, in Article XXX., "both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament" means bread and wine. Compare "the sign OR Sacrament OF" grace. (Art. XXIX).

Q. Why was the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ordained?

A. For the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby.

Note. For the 'remembrance' of a finished sacrifice; not to perpetuate or to "re-Present" it.

"We must take heed lest of a memory it be made a sacrifice." †

The word 'remembrance' is doubtless taken from 1 Cor. xi.-25, which is explained by verse 26. "*For*,—ye do shew the Lord's death," &c. where the word 'shew' means preach—literally, "bring DOWN the message." A symbolic representation to the Church, *not* a sacrificial memorial to God is here meant. Moreover it is a remembrance "of the benefits which we receive thereby," as well as of the Crucifixion. Compare the Rubric — "break the bread *before the people*,"—with the use of the word 'remembrance' in the last sentence of the Catechism.

Q. What is the outward part or sign of the Lord's Supper?

A. Bread and wine, which the Lord hath commanded to be received.

As Baptism is not mere consecrated water, but consists in the *use* of water "wherein the person *is baptized*." So there is no "Supper of the Lord" when the elements are merely reserved, gazed upon, or worshipped.—(Art. 28.) The sacramental *action* is as essential to the Rite as are the "creatures of bread and wine." The efficacy of the Sacrament is due solely (Art. 26) to the "institution and promise" of Christ, who "commanded it to be *received*," not to be offered up in sacrifice.

Q. What is the inward part, or thing signified?

A. The body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.

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* Works, P.S., p. 3.

† Homily of the Sacrament, Part I.

"For the unbelievers and faithless *cannot* feed upon that precious Body." *

"RECEIVE it with the hand of the heart, and TAKE fully with thy inward man." †

"'When you come to these mysteries, do not think that you receive *by a man* the body of God,' meaning of Christ. These be St. John Chrysostom's own words. Then, if we receive not the body of Christ at the hands of a man, *ergo* the body of Christ is not really, corporally, and naturally IN the Sacrament, and so given to us *by the Priest.*" ‡

Christ Himself gives "the Bread which is the Lord," the priest gives only "the bread OF the Lord."§

Q. What are the benefits whereof we are partakers thereby?

A. The strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the body and blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the bread and wine.

"AS our bodies are," yet each in its own order and after its kind. For "the communion of the body and blood of the Lord [is] a marvellous incorporation, which *by the operation of the Holy Ghost*—the very bond of our conjunction with Christ,—is through faith wrought *in the souls* of the faithful."||

"Christ giveth himself truly to be eaten, chewed, and digested; but all is spiritually with faith, not with the mouth."¶

Observe;—only the faithful receive the body of Christ "in the use of the Lord's Supper;" but ALL who receive that body are partakers of the benefits.—(St. John vi.-51-58.)

Kneeling at the Lord's Supper is declared (in the Declaration at the end of the Communion Service) to be "*for a signification of our humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of Christ therein given to all worthy receivers*"—*i.e.* for a reason the same in kind with that for which we kneel at the absolution, at confirmation, and benedictions.

Q. What is required of them who come to the Lord's Supper?

A. To examine themselves, whether they repent them truly of their former sins, steadfastly purposing to lead a new life; have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of His death, and be in charity with all men.

Not one word of the "Sacrament of Penance!" The '*self*'-examination relates to the '*truth*' of the repentance, and '*steadfastness*' of the purpose—not to the bare 'numbering' of outward acts. And it is the work of Good Friday, centuries ago, not the "propitiatory sacrifice" about to be offered, which is proposed for our 'remembrance.'

From all false doctrine, heresy, and schism—

Good Lord deliver us.

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* Homily of the Sacrament, Part I. *See* Art. 28, 29. † *Ibid.*
‡ Cranmer's Answer to Gardiner, p. 182.
§ "Panem Dominum, panem Domini." || Homily of the Sacrament.
¶ Cranmer's Answer to Gardiner, p. 15.

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"THE Bishop's Veto:"

A Memorandum

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"THE BISHOP'S VETO:"

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EXPLANATORY OF THE

"ECCLESIASTICAL PROCEEDINGS AMENDMENT BILL, 1888."

AT the present time, disciplinary proceedings against a clergyman in the Church Courts, can be brought only under the Church Discipline Act, 1840 (3 & 4 Vic. c. 86), or the Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874 (37 & 38 Vic. c. 85). If the Bishop so pleases, he can decline to issue a Commission, or to forward the complaint to the Judge; and then the suitor for justice, so far as yet ascertained, is left without redress. This power of suppressing proceedings is called "The Bishop's Veto."

In 1867 a **Royal Commission** reported unanimously—

"We are of opinion that it is expedient to restrain in the public services of the United Church of England and Ireland *all variations* in respect of Vesture from that which has long been the established usage of the said United Church, and we think that this may be best secured by providing aggrieved parishioners with an *easy and effectual* process for complaint and redress." (*First Report of Ritual Commission*, p. vii.)

Lord Chief Justice Cockburn (in delivering the Judgment of the Queen's Bench in the Clewer Case (1879), said—

"In these questions of doctrine or ritual the laity are interested as well as the clergy. As an institution endowed and maintained by the State, the Church exists for the benefit of the laity. It is the right of the latter, being members of the Church, to take part, under the ministration of the clergy, in the public worship, as well as to have the benefit of the various rites and services of the Church, according to the ritual of the Church, as by law

ascertained and established. One of their most sacred and valued rights is infringed when they are driven to abandon their churches by the introduction of a ritual which is not that of the Church, and which appears to them to be an advance towards a religion which is not that of the Reformation." (*Law Reports*, 4 Q. B. D. 277.)

In 1883 the **Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts** reported that—"Every subject of the Crown who feels aggrieved by a decision of any such Court, has an *indefeasible* right to approach the Throne itself, with a representation that justice has not been done him, and with the claim for the full *investigation of his cause*." Yet inconsistently enough they advised that it should be "left to the Bishop to give permission to the complainant to proceed."

The composition of this Commission, from its partisan character, was the subject of remonstrances from the *Edinburgh Review* (January, 1884), and from Sir Edmund Beckett, the Judge of the Consistory Court of York. Yet no fewer than eight of the Commissioners signified their dissent from the principle of the "veto," viz. the Archbishop of York (Dr. Thomson), the Lord Chief Justice of England (Lord Coleridge), the Dean of the Arches (Lord Penzance), the Earl of Chichester, Dean Perowne, Sir J. P. Deane, D.C.L., Q.C. (Vicar-General of Canterbury), Mr. Chancellor Jeune, and the Rev. Chancellor Espin.

At the fifty-seventh meeting of the Commissioners, the **Archbishop of York** moved and **Dean Perowne** seconded—

"That the investing the Bishop with the unconditional and uncontrolled power of Veto on any complaint against a clergyman, would deprive the laity of the power of obtaining a decision in cases of wrong, and would lead to variety of practice in different dioceses; and would also be invidious towards the bishop as making him practically the prosecutor in every case, where proceedings went on. That these evils would be much diminished if the Bishop, when refusing to allow a resort to the courts, were bound to give his direction and decision on the matter of the complaint. Such direction being held binding unless appealed against in the first Court of Appeal."

Lord Chief Justice Coleridge reported to Her Majesty—

"I am unable to concur in the recommendation made by my brother commissioners that the Bishop's assent should be made a condition precedent to the taking of proceedings to enforce the law, whether moral or ritual, against a clergyman.

"I believe that practically this is a power claimed and exercised by Bishops for the first time since the Church Discipline Act. I do not question the great power of a Bishop in the Middle Ages, or that in practice he could probably have prevented any proceedings against a clergyman in the

Church Courts which he chose to prevent. But since the Reformation, though the fiction of permission was kept up by the forms of the court, yet it was a fiction only, and the practice was, as declared by the highest authority, Lord Stowell, for the assent to be given as a matter of course if the Bishop were made safe as to costs. I am very clearly of opinion that this ought to be so, and that the active interference of the Bishops to prevent the law of the land being enforced against those who have deliberately broken it, is as indefensible in theory as, I must confess, it seems to be FAST BECOMING INTOLERABLE in practice.

"The right as now claimed and exercised covers everything. Moral delinquency of the gravest kind, doctrinal error the most extreme, ritual excess, whereby in spite and defiance of the law a repugnant congregation may be compelled to assist at a ceremonial which they think symbolizes an abject and mischievous superstition. It is obviously no answer in reasoning to say that the right claimed would never be so abused. But besides, this is a right clearly capable of being abused, more likely to be abused in proportion to the strength and earnestness of character of those who claim it; finally, one which, desiring to speak with true respect, I must think, IN FACT HAS BEEN ABUSED.

"The English people have, in my opinion, a right to see that the conditions upon which they have granted or secured great privileges to the maintainers of a particular set of religious opinions, are carefully observed; a right which ought not to be limited by the will of a few distinguished men amongst those to whom these very privileges have been granted or secured on these very conditions.

"It is true that as the Bishops may abuse their right of interference, so the people at large may abuse their right of prosecution. But I think that competent judges with absolute power over costs would very soon restrain and, indeed, altogether put an end to merely frivolous litigation."

The **Dean of the Arches** Court of Canterbury also reported—

"If it be allowed that the laity have any rights in the due and proper administration of the services and ceremonials of the Church, it seems to me to follow that, if the Bishop is unable or unwilling to maintain those rights, any parishioner who is aggrieved by a breach of the law in this respect, ought to be permitted to assert them in the Spiritual Courts, provided always that his complaints, or supposed grievances, are not trivial, or frivolous, or vexatious, and are honestly put forward." (*Report Eccl. Commission*, p. 66.)

The **Bishop of Worcester**, in his Charge, 1886, said—

"I cannot help saying that I think it impossible to suppose that the Crown and Parliament should sanction this proposal. The provision would throw a burden upon the Bishop which he ought not to be asked to bear. Moreover, it seems to me a first principle of justice tha if a person, whether lay or cleric, commits a wrong, those who are affected by the wrong should have free access to the Court of Inquiry by which the wrong may be corrected. I do not see how a Bishop sitting *in camerâ*, as it is proposed, can depend sufficiently upon the information

which may be so brought before him, to determine whether or not proceedings should be taken. Imperfect information, or, as every Bishop may readily admit, a prejudice or prepossession in favour of or against a person with whom he is acquainted, may prevail as a denial of justice to the persons by whom the complaint is brought. It is true that according to a recent interpretation of the Church Discipline Act of 1840, a power of veto upon proceedings against a clergyman is supposed to be vested at present in the Bishop; but there was great force of legal opinion against such an interpretation at the time, and the practice of the Courts previously had given verdict against it. If, however, this interpretation be maintained, and if instances, which will not be wanting, of the action of such Veto in questionable cases be pressed upon the attention of Parliament, it requires no great foresight to predict that if, as I believe, the Crown and Parliament would not sanction the Veto now by fresh legislation, so they will not allow it to remain in force hereafter."

The **Bishop of Liverpool**, in his Charge, 1887, gives as the result of his experience that—

"A more mischievous arrangement, a more ingenious device for setting a Bishop at variance with one party in his diocese whenever a complaint of illegality is made, and for creating divided counsels among Bishops—one Bishop allowing suits and another forbidding them—I cannot conceive. I cannot think the Veto will survive the ordeal of the House of Commons."

Professor Burrows at the Reading Church Congress, 1883, said—

"I conclude by expressing my astonishment at failing to find in the Report of the Commission the slightest recognition of the importance of the mass of evidence submitted to it upon the working of the Bishop's Veto under recent legislation. I am not a member of the Church Association. I would even give the Bishop more power than he has now in the settlement of all matters for which the law does *not* provide; but I have read with feelings that I will not describe, the recorded evidence of the way in which aggrieved parishioners have been treated at the hands of individual Bishops. That such a Veto should exist for a moment longer, much more that it should be re-enacted, as now proposed, seems to me, when the public are once brought to understand what has been done, impossible. It is a wholly un-English proceeding. Every wrong has a remedy at law. Let the drastic process of heavy costs be the lesson taught to too litigious people. The position of the Bishop is that of a 'protector of the settlement'—to borrow once more a legal term; but what settlement? It is not only the Reformation settlement, but that of *existing* law. That individual Bishops should be allowed to make law is simply monstrous. *Quis custodiat custodes ipsos?* What Englishman will thus give up his rights to a single man? Every diocese would have a separate Use. If no other change is effected, let me express an earnes hope that such an amazing and cruel anomaly as this may at once and for ever be swept away." (*Official Report*, p. 491.)

Chancellor Monk, M.P., in the *Churchman*, January, 1884, wrote—

"We fail to see what advantage can accrue to either party, or to the interests of the Church, from requiring the Bishop to assign reasons for an irresponsible Veto, which can neither be revised nor reversed. The Bishop is practically constituted Judge in the first instance, though furnished with merely the particulars of the offence *charged;* he is empowered to shield, if not to acquit, the person so complained of, and to spare him the annoyance and inconvenience of a trial, while he has not a tittle of *evidence* to guide him to a right decision. Another—perhaps a more fatal—objection to the Veto is, that the Bishop would to some extent be prejudging a case, which, if permitted to proceed, might be tried before him in his Diocesan Court."

Sir Edmund Beckett, BART., LL.D., Q.C. (now Lord Grimthorpe), in a letter (published by Murray) addressed to the Archbishop of York, asks—

"How the Englishman's 'indefeasible right to approach the Throne for justice and a full investigation of his case,' from a Bishop or an Archbishop sitting in his court, becomes defeasible, and no right at all, when the Bishop sits in his own room reading a complaint and the answer to it, without a word of proof for either. I am convinced by the evidence that the balance has been turned by the action of some Bishops decidedly against the Veto; and that the risk of frivolous and vexatious suits can be obviated by giving the Court power to dismiss them with full costs as soon as it perceives them to be so. The law must provide for the worst specimens of Bishops, as of other people, not the best. . . The only thing that is needed to make the Public Worship Act work, under which proceedings are simpler than under the old ones, is the removal of the condemned episcopal Veto on 'the indefeasible right of every man to approach the Crown' and its courts 'for a full investigation of his cause.'"

The late **Earl of Shaftesbury** wrote to the Council of the Church Association in 1873:—"There cannot be a more useful application of the funds entrusted to your care" than the testing, "whether an Act of Parliament has given to the Bishop power to forbid a layman to put in motion the statute law of the realm. If that arbitrary and irresponsible law exists, no exertions should be spared by the laity to have it taken away by legislative enactment." And he quoted **Lord Camden**, who said:—"The discretion of a Judge is the law of tyrants. It is different in different men. It is always unknown. It is casual, and depends upon constitution, temper, passion. In the best it is often caprice; in the worst it is every vice and passion to which human nature is liable."

The evidence of the Witnesses before the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission is perfectly startling.

Mr. Valpy quoted to the Commissioners eight cases where the Bishop, exercising his Veto, had stated his reasons for so doing. The so-called "reasons" are of the most ridiculous character; but in *not one* is the frivolousness or vexatiousness of the suit given as the ground of the Veto.

"Under these circumstances," says the *Churchman*, "can anything be more frivolous or vexatious than to allege that the Veto is required to stop frivolous and vexatious suits. Let anyone read the really touching story told by Mr. Howard, the railway clerk (Q. 7701-7703), of the building of the church for the railway men, of the three law-breakers *appointed* in succession *by the Bishop*, of the petition of the 800 inhabitants for the appointment of a law-abiding clergyman replied to by the Bishop's appointment of Mr. Glover, of the various failures culminating only *at the last* in the Veto, and then ask himself whether the somewhat unadorned language of this railway clerk is not intelligible, excusable, almost justifiable?"

Mr. James Girdlestone sums up his evidence (in his pamphlet, published by Hatchards, "The Bishop's Veto," pp. 53-4) in these words:—

"I have" (he says, p. 53) "in seven instances acted for the complainants who have made a formal complaint to the proper Bishop, with a view to the commencement of proceedings against a clergyman. In each case every complainant was a parishioner; the breaches of the law were indisputable; the complaint was properly made; and the Bishop was not asked either to prosecute or to bear any expense; but simply to *allow* a trial: nevertheless, excepting a case where the Bishop [Selwyn] took the complaint abroad with him *till it was too late to be dealt with*, and a case where the same Bishop was too ill to act, the proceedings were, *in every case, vetoed by the Bishop*."

"Under the P. W. R. Act, 1874, there have been, as appears by Mr. Valpy's evidence, eighteen representations. Of these representations, six were made against clergymen, *each of whom had been presented* to his living *by a bishop*. In one of the six cases there was a failure of justice *owing to the Bishop's neglect to attend to the case*. In the other five cases, proceedings were arbitrarily vetoed."

Mr. Valpy showed that in eight cases in which the Veto had been used, the illegalities went on just as before. A table of these cases will be found in the Report of the Commissioners, Vol. II., p. 292, and in Mr. Girdlestone's pamphlet, p. 90. And the same remark applies to the two subsequent cases at Tedburn St. Mary, and Lincoln Cathedral.

The **Church Intelligencer** observes (March, 1887)—

"The actual 'law of this Church and Realm' has on many points been

ascertained beyond dispute, and our opponents do not now any longer venture to challenge that fact before any constituted Tribunal. Defeated in every suit, they betake themselves to publishing sarcasms and polemical pamphlets, and trust to the Bishops to protect them in their open and impudent breaches of the law. And the bishops do, in fact, habitually screen them from justice. Every 'Veto' yet known has had for its object and result the protection of an incumbent when charged with breaches of *known and ascertained* law of a character so grave that other defaulters had been suspended or deprived for the like offence . . . The favourite plea in favour of the Bishop's Veto is that litigation is to be deprecated, and that frivolous suits can only thus be prevented. The answer is that litigiousness is effectually and sufficiently discouraged by the extravagant cost, risk, and odium which a prosecutor must in any event encounter, as well as by the *costs* which the Court has power to award against a prosecutor who fails to sustain his charge. Under the Public Worship Act he is even bound to find security *beforehand* for the payment of these costs. In the Isle of Man and in Scotland, where no Veto has ever existed, no such evils as predicted have been found to result. In the Established Kirk of Scotland 'any male parishioner may prosecute for heresy, and the Presbytery have no power to decline taking up the case. And it is not necessary that the parishioner should be in communion with the Church' (Innes' 'Law of Creeds in Scotland,' p. 211).

"But a more direct and indisputable answer to the objection is furnished by the fact that the 'Eccl. Proceedings Amendment Bill' does not even propose to abolish the Veto, except in cases in which the offence charged is one for which Her Majesty's Courts Ecclesiastical have already laid down the law and awarded a penalty. Here there can be no pretence of possible 'frivolousness' in the nature of the charge."

"Another alternative," says the *Churchman* (1883), "would be to allow the defendant to raise the frivolity and vexatiousness as a preliminary defence. It is the defendant's business alone. If the defendant does not object to the suit on the ground of its being frivolous and vexatious, why in the world should anyone else interfere?"

The plea sometimes urged that the Bishop's power to stop a suit, is like that of the Grand Jury to throw out a Bill, not only overlooks the impropriety of making the *same* person to be confidential adviser, judge, jury, and administrator, but it involves a misapprehension of the function of a Grand Jury. Their power, as **Mr. Kennion** observes—"is given for the purpose of stopping, *ab initio*, a suit in which the plaintiff has no case at all, or one which comes under the rule *de minimis non curat lex*. But if a magistrate or grand jury were to think that in any case, however important, a breach of the law was not so bad a thing as its enforcement, the power would soon be taken away. And it is on this

ground that the Bishop's Veto has been defended; that ecclesiastical litigation is a thing so bad that under no circumstances ought it to be allowed."

That this is no exaggeration is shown by the remarks of **Lord Bramwell** when, delivering his judgment in the Clewer case, he said:—

"By what means Mr. Carter has persuaded himself that he can receive the wages of the State" [*i.e.* secured to him by the State] "to do a certain duty, and not to do it, but that which is opposed to it, I cannot conceive. And, with all submission, I feel a nearly equal difficulty in understanding how it can seem right to the Bishop not to bring him to justice. It does seem to me that *the discretion has been most erroneously exercised.* It is as though a public prosecutor should refuse to prosecute a man persisting in a public nuisance against the rights and to the injury of the neighbourhood, because the offender was old and respected, and because some of the neighbours worked for him, and because some prosecutions for nuisance had recently failed." (*Law Reports*, 4 Q. B. D., p. 555.)

So, too, **Mr. Valpy** testifies (Report, II., 302) that, in the case against Mr. Chapman, the Bishop's "reason" is, that he denied the illegality of his conduct. "Well, that was *the very issue to be tried.*"

In the case of Tedburn St. Mary the **Bishop of Exeter** filed in his registry the following extraordinary "reason" for refusing to allow a law-breaker to be interfered with.

"With regard to wafer bread, lighted candles on the holy table in the daytime, and the vestments complained of, I have stated to Mr. Tothill that they are, in my judgment, contrary to the laws and usages of the Church of England, and are therefore not only inexpedient, but wrong. I earnestly hope that the rector will yet see it his duty to submit to my admonition as his father in God. But in the present state of the law, I fear that prosecutions in the courts on such matters of ritual, only aggravate the evils that they are intended to suppress. (Signed) E. H. EXON."

In this case the parishioners had exhausted appeals to the bishop as "father," before attempting to take proceedings under the Public Worship Regulation Act.

The clergyman had appointed as "his" churchwarden his own coachman (a man who can neither read nor write), and under the protection of the Bishop's Veto Mr. Tothill still continues every one of the illegal practices which have emptied his church, and repelled his parishioners from Holy Communion.

The Ecclesiastical Courts Commissioners reported that the Bishop is the official "protector of the clergy" (Report, pp. xvii, xxiv); and the **Bishop of Chester** in his primary charge said

"The office of a Bishop was to protect his clergy." (*Guardian*, October 27th, 1886.)

The present **Bishop of London** (in his last charge as Bishop of Exeter, told his Clergy:—"I am myself more and more inclined to think that even now it will be better to be content with a *voluntary arrangement to be made among ourselves.* I myself am prepared to bind myself to be governed by the decision of the Archbishop on appeal, if any clergyman presented for Ritual, or Doctrine, were to submit himself to me. I should in that case *stop all proceedings* against him, on the ground that he had obeyed the Prayer Book, by referring the question to the Bishop, and I should hear him personally, and after consideration should announce the decision I was prepared to give. And if this decision was objected to, I should put the whole case in the Archbishop's hands, and be bound by his decision in making *or refusing to make* a final order in the matter." "Of course, if I made the order, I should be bound by the decisions of the courts in regard to the particulars of the order; but if, in the exercise of my discretion, I thought it better . . . . to make no order, either as regards the whole matter in dispute, or as regards certain particulars in it, *I should be bound by no decision at all.*" (*Guardian*, May 7th, 1884.)

The **Dean of Windsor** (now Bishop of Winchester) boasted in Convocation that "the knowledge that such a power existed had a hundred times prevented a case from going forward." (*Chronicle of Convocation*, 1884, p. 109.)

It is clear from these statements that some at least of the Bishops regard it as their function to "protect" their professional brethren from the laity, and from the law of the land, and regard the observance of law by spiritual persons as matter for "voluntary arrangement to be made among themselves." Others of the bishops, either violate the law in their own persons, or are members (or ex-members) of the English Church Union which has defended Ritualistic law-breakers for conduct which (in 1866) their own counsel, on their own ex-parte case, told them beforehand was contrary to law. (*First Report of Ritual Commission*, p. 156.)

Is it not monstrous to intrust to such persons a power of dispensing their clergy from the observance of the terms of their own voluntary contract, and of denying to the laity all access to the portals of justice for even a bare hearing *in public* of their complaints?

Index No.	The Lawbreakers. All, except Mr. Venables, are or were, E.C. Unionists.	Complainants.	Discipline Act, 1840, or P. W. R. Act, 1874.	Offences.	Bishop Patron of Lawbreaker.	Vetoing Bishop.	Date of Veto.
1	Denison, Archdeacon .	Ditcher, Rev. Joseph ...	C. D. Act	Romish Heresy	Bath and Wells.	Ostensibly Bath and Wells (Dr. Bagot), really Oxford (Dr. Wilberforce)	10 May, 1854
	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Bath and Wells (Lord Auckland)	21 July, 1854
	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	18 Jan. 1855
4	Randall, Rev. R W. .	Golightly, Rev. C. P. ...	Ditto	Romish Ritual	...	Chichester (Dr. Gilbert)	1859
5	Bennett, Rev. W. J. E.	Sheppard, T. B., Esq. ...	Ditto	Romish Heresy	...	London (Dr. Tait) ...	March, 1868
6	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	...	Ditto (Dr. Jackson)	1869
7	Randall, Rev. R. W. . (See No. 4.)	Mr. Davies and others ...	P. W. R.	Romish Ritual	...	Gloucester and Bristol (Dr. Ellicott) ...	16 Nov. 1876
8	Carter, Rev. T. T. ...	Capt. Bulkeley and others	Ditto	Ditto	...	Oxford (Dr. Mackarness)	3 Sept. 1877
9	Bodington, Rev. C. ...	Mr. Joseph Butcher (Cwrdn.)	Ditto	Ditto	Lichfield ...	Canterbury (Dr. Tait)	19 Nov. 1877
10	Glover, Rev. E.... ...	Mr. Howard and others ...	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	8 Jan. 1878
11	Bodington, Rev. C. ...	Mr. Joseph Butcher (Cwrdn.)	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	2 Feb. 1878
12	Chapman Rev. Horace E.	Grove, Sir T. F., Bart., and others	Ditto	Ditto	...	Salisbury (Dr. Moberly)	13 April, 1878
13	Carter, Rev. T. T. ...	Mr. Foster and another ...	C. D. Act	Ditto	...	Oxford (Dr. Mackarness)	20 April, 1878
14	Barrett, Rev. T. S. ...	Hurford, E. (Churchwrdn.)	P. W. R.	Ditto	...	Carlisle (Dr. Goodwin)	31 July, 1878
15	Carter, Rev. T. T. ...	Julius, F. G.	C. D. Act	Ditto	...	Oxford (Dr. Mackarness)	Nov. 1878
16	Lowder, Rev. C. F. ...	Vile, Mr., and others ...	P. W. R.	Ditto	London (Reversionary)	Canterbury (Dr. Tait)	29 Nov. 1878
17	Baghot De la Bere, John (or Edwards) ...	Combe, Charles	C. D. Act	Ditto	...	Gloucester and Bristol (Dr. Ellicott)	7 May, 1884
	The above table is taken from Mr. Girdlestone's Pamphlet.			*The following cases have occurred since its publication.*			
18	Tothill, Rev. C. W. E.	Bellew, P. F.	P. W. R.	Ditto	T. C. Tothill, Esq.	Exeter (Dr. Bickersteth)	7 June, 1886
19	Precentor Venables...	Hebb, H. K.	C. D.	Ditto	Bp. Lincoln	Archbp. of Canterbury (Dr. Benson)	29 Nov. 1886
20	D. & C., St. Paul's ...	Alcroft	P. W. R.	Images	...	Temple	23 May, 1888
21	Ditto	Lighton	Ditto	Ditto	...	Ditto	9 May, 1890

London: Printed by G. Norman & Son, Floral Street. Published by the Church Association, and to be obtained at their Office, 14, Buckingham Street, Strand, at the price of 8d per doz. or 4s 6d per 100.
9th Thousand.]
17.9.1900.

IDOLS IN THE CHURCH OF GOD.

BEING A PAPER READ BY

THE REV. T. J. GASTER,

Vicar of All Saints', Camberwell,

AT THE

MANCHESTER CONFERENCE OF THE CHURCH ASSOCIATION,

November, 1887,

ON THE FOLLOWING SUBJECT:

"The re-introduction into our Churches of graven images and of the Elevation and Reservation of the consecrated Elements, with other like practices of pre-Reformation times, is a direct incentive to the sin of Idolatry."

NO more awful charge than that of Idolatry can be brought against Christians; and so vehemently and ingeniously is the charge denied that it is of the utmost importance to ascertain from the word of God what is meant by Idolatry. The definition in the Second Commandment is authoritative, for it was spoken by God, and written by His finger on stone, and delivered to His Church in the Wilderness. By that Commandment, the making images and pictures, including all symbols for religious adoration, is strictly forbidden. The Command is not merely against bowing down *in order* to worship them, but the act of bowing down is forbidden as strongly as 'worship.' "Thou shalt not bow down to them, *nor* worship them." It is in vain therefore to say, "I am not an Idolater because I only bow before the image." In the New Testament, St. Paul writing by inspiration, has defined idolatry (Rom. i. 25) as worshipping and serving the creature in preference to the Creator. This definition, by the two verbs used, includes all that Roman Catholics understand by Douleia, Hyperdouleia, and Latreia, distinctions nowhere ad-

mitted by the Word of God, but rather the outcome of anxiety to escape the charge of idolatry. That idols were made not long after the dispersion from Babel is clear from the name of one of the cities overthrown by Chedorlaomer and the kings with him (Gen. xiv. 5.) The city is called "Ashteroth-Karnaim," *i.e.*, Ishtar of the Two Horns, Milton's "Mooned Ashteroth," for ages the most popular of Asiatic goddesses, whose two symbols, the star and the crescent, were unwittingly adopted by the iconoclastic Turks, and by them are still used.

When once the disease of idolatry appeared, it spread with wonderful rapidity. We can see this by the monuments and antiquities from the cities of the Tigris, from Egypt, and many other parts of the world in our National Museum; and the Old Testament Scriptures record the calamity. It has been supposed that atheism by its very nature would suppress idolatry, but this is a mistake. It not only fails to put down idolatry, but atheists themselves have in many places been idolaters. The Buddhist religion is essentially atheistic. It denies the existence of the Supreme God. Yet Buddhist temples and shrines have multitudes of images before which myriads of men, women, and children bow down, and to which incense is offered on ten thousand altars. The French atheists at the close of the 18th century 'abolished' Christianity: but they set up a living woman, a prostitute, and worshipped her in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame as the "Goddess of Reason." I am mentioning this to show how easy it is to fall into idolatry, and so to demonstrate the truth of the assertion that "the re-introduction into our churches of graven images is a direct incentive to the sin of idolatry."

The hunger and thirst for idols is further proved by the practice of some members of our Protestant Established Church, who, not content with idolatry as practised in many of our churches, set apart rooms in their own houses as chambers of images, and cause lights to burn before them, and bow down before them, and imitate "the man Micah," who "had a house of gods and made an ephod and teraphim," and who was a great stickler for Levitical succession, for he displaced his own lay son whom he had consecrated in favour of a genuine Levite, a *grandson* of Moses; and expressed his satisfaction by saying, "now know I that the Lord will do me good, seeing I have a *Levite* to my priest" (Judg. xvii. 13). And this was in a lawless

age, for "In those days there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes" (v. 6).

The first introduction of idols into the Church of God was by Rachel, the favourite wife of Jacob. On leaving her father's house for, to her, an unknown land, she felt that the possession of his penates would be a comfort. Accordingly she stole them, and kept her husband in ignorance of her theft and idolatry. She paid little respect to the stolen gods when she sat upon them; but this is characteristic of idolaters, who will suffer none to treat the images with disrespect save the devotees themselves. Thus, Hindoos will drag their idols out of the temples, and expose them to the burning sun as a punishment for not giving rain; and at home some of our extreme Ritualistic churches have been known for the dirt and faded frippery of their interior.

There are many very low motives which help the cause of idolatry, and raise up a host of earnest apologists for it, or rather for themselves, "Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth," is the motto of these noisy religionists. Idolatry brings money to the architect, the sculptor, the builder, the brick-maker, the stonemason, the artist, the painter, the workers in gold, silver, bronze, iron, wood, clay, and anything else suitable for the purpose. Then there is a crowd of knick-knack sellers of models, costly or worthless; traffickers in incense; vestment makers and lodging-house keepers; for the prosperity of a city in ancient and modern times has depended often on the idol or relic for which the city is celebrated. Apollo of Delphi, Zeus of Lystra, Thomas of Canterbury, St. Alban of Verulam, are some of many instances. The Greek monks of Mount Athos boast of a whole arm of St. Simeon Stylites; the idolatrous world distributes its favour pretty evenly between holy water, palms, crocodiles, wafers, monkeys, snakes, earth, stones, bulls, cats, candles, trees, bones, rags, old nails, and such like. The tendency of idolatry is earthward; it degrades its votaries, and is a disgrace to any people.

The fascination of idolatry is increased by its employment of magnificent and gorgeously decorated temples, in some cases by the beauty of its pictures and images, by the magnificence of its processions, shows, the glitter of ten thousand lights, the sweetness of vocal and instrumental music, the floating banners, the richly robed priests and priestesses, the mysterious influence of clouds of incense, and the gaiety of countless multitudes of men,

women, and children. It satisfies the ears, and nose, the eyes, and the palate; and it panders to the worst lusts of unregenerate human nature. It provides every kind of halting place for its devotees, from the massive temple to the roadside shrine, and the holy stone on every high hill and under every green tree. It confers degrees of sanctity on everyone who makes a pilgrimage to its most holy ground; it has a hold upon the world which can be loosened only by Him of whom it is written "the idols He shall utterly abolish."

We know that idolatry was the ruin of the outward and visible Church of God among the ten tribes, and afterwards at Jerusalem. It will be observed also that the kings most approved by God were Iconoclasts. Indeed from the first introduction of idols among the people of God, they received special blessings who destroyed them, and *because* they destroyed them. So we read (Gen. xxxv. 2, 4, 5), "Jacob said unto his household, and to all that were with him, Put away the strange gods that are among you. And they gave unto Jacob *all* the strange gods which were in their hands, and all their earrings which were in their ears; and Jacob hid them under the oak which was by Shechem. And they journeyed; and the *terror of God* was upon the cities that were round about them, and they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob." So Moses destroyed the calf made by his own brother Aaron; so Jehu "brought forward the images out of the house of Baal and burned them, and they brake down the image of Baal" (2 Kings x. 26, 27). So Hezekiah destroyed the brazen serpent because it had been made into an idol. So Josiah brought out the Asherah from the house of the Lord, without Jerusalem, unto the brook Kidron, and burned it at the brook Kidron, and stamped it small to powder; "and he brake down the houses of the Sodomites that were by the house of the Lord, where the women wove hangings for the Asherah."

You will observe that these good Iconoclasts took care to prevent the restoration of these idols or any part of them by burning or grinding them to powder. In our day architects have constituted themselves resurrectionists, and have been quite proud of raking among the dirt of antiquity for the fragments of idolatrous shrines destroyed by our wise forefathers. Such is the restored shrine of St. Alban in the Abbey Church dedicated to him; and in Westminster Abbey, where the shrine and the relics of Edward the Confessor were foolishly allowed to remain,

Roman Catholic pilgrims visit the dusty remains of their dead mediator.

Anything like a riotous breaking of idols in our churches ought to be and would be immediately suppressed; but a royal commission might be appointed to visit all our churches, and to remove from them every idol, whether of paste, or wood, or stone, and also the altars for the service of those idols, as thoroughly as Henry VIII. caused the shrine and relics of Thomas of Canterbury to be destroyed, so that no portion could be restored. "The terror of the Lord" would then rest upon the peoples round about us, and we should dwell in our land in true peace of mind and body.

Idolatry has a marvellously adhesive power. It sticks to a people and their descendants. A huge image worshipped by the Mexicans and buried by the Spaniards was dug up some 300 years afterwards, and was at once worshipped by some descendants of the subjects of Montezuma. The most venerated idol for centuries before the days of Mahomet was the stone in the Caäba at Mecca. Pilgrimages were made to it; and there the stone is to this day, and the pilgrimages have never ceased. Every Mussulman who makes a pilgrimage to that stone has the title of 'Hâjî,' because he has performed the Huj, or pilgrimage. Even Mahomet the Iconoclast could not get rid of that idol from Mecca, the Kibla of Mahometan faith and practice. The superstition which associates itself with idolatry, sticks more or less to the native Christians in heathen lands; and some of the heathen superstition of our British and Saxon forefathers sticks to many English Christians still. We can hardly be surprised, therefore, when we read St. Paul writing to converts from Greek idolatry in Corinth (1 Cor. x.-7), "Neither be ye idolaters." And again (x.-21), "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord *and* the cup of devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, *and* of the table of devils."

It was this yearning after the old idolatry which led to the introduction of pictures and images for adoration in Christian Churches, and to compromise with idolatry on the part of many of the early missionaries, who were in a hurry to make converts by the thousand. The damage to the outward and visible Church seems irreparable. In some cases the idol festivals were retained, and the images, baptized with new names, carried in procession. "Our Lady of Boulogne" is evidently a pre-Christian image,

and the story about her coming to Boulogne in a boat without sails or crew, is clearly the old heathen legend of the goddess. The figure of Jupiter Tonans, in St. Peter's at Rome, is believed to have been deprived of its thunderbolts and supplied with a couple of keys, and is now reverently kissed as the image of St. Peter. The devotees never hear St. Peter calling to them, "Stand up! for I also am a man."

The law of the Church of England is that the Ten Commandments are to be set up at the east end of every church, where they may be "seen and read." But the Second Commandment clearly and absolutely condemns bowing down to and also worshipping any and every image, picture, representation in stone, or paste, or clay. The Ritualists, who have re-introduced the worst form of idolatry into our churches by elevating a wafer as the god of the congregation, and by calling on the people to worship the god which would be broken to pieces if the creature priest were to drop it—these Ritualist idolaters feel the lawlessness of their position, viz. that of committing idolatry with the Second Commandment staring down upon them. Accordingly, as the Church of Rome has left out the Commandment in some of her catechisms, so these Romish priests have covered up or buried, or caused the Ten Commandments not to be set up in their churches. Sometimes the commandments of God are printed in small black letter type, framed and glazed, and put into a dark part of the church, while their proper place is occupied by graven images, immediately in front of the kneeling communicants. Indeed, if you wish to buy an idol you may almost always find an idol shop near a leading Ritualistic church. I needed an image to illustrate a lecture a few months since, and I found a store of gods near the Church of St. Alban's, Holborn. There is a similar shop in Brighton. About a mile from my church the Roman Catholics opened an idol shop; but there was no demand for images, so it is shut up and gone. Images are sometimes spoken of by Christians as mere "aids to devotion." This apology condemns itself, for it is clear that "the aid" can mean only the drawing the attention of the worshipper to the assistant image. Images would never be used for religious purposes except for the belief that they stand in some mysterious relation to the person represented. The god or goddess, or saint, is supposed to be pleased with the worshipper; then the god is supposed for the time to be in the image—then to abide in it—then to speak by it—to cause its eyes to move, and to shed tears—so that the words of Holy Scripture, if these things were true, would hardly be of force, "Eyes have they, and see not; noses have they, and smell not; feet have they, and walk not."

But the very worst description of idolatry is that which comes from the assertion that the bread, the wafer, the wine, is changed into, transubstantiated into, "the body and blood, soul and

divinity, bones and nerves," of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, so that the officiating priest is represented as holding up our "God manifest in the flesh" as a god manifest in paste for the worship of the credulous.

The condemnation of this worst form of idolatry lies in the language of its promoters. Thus in the "*Directorium Anglicanum*" (Ed. 1865, p. 60), "The celebrant should at once elevate IT with the first finger and thumb of both hands, for the worship of the faithful." It is perhaps well that the neuter gender is employed, since a dead idol is elevated by the celebrant. On p. 86 we read: "After Mass also he should beware of expectorations as much as possible, until he shall have eaten and drunken, lest by chance anything shall have remained between his teeth or in his *fauces*, which by expectoration he might eject." On p. 87 we read of the transubstantiation and consecration of the Sacrament, and on pp. 88, 89, "The question arises, if after having communicated of the Body, he shall have the water already in his mouth, and shall then for the first time perceive that it is water—whether he ought to swallow it or to eject it. . . . It is however safer to swallow than to eject it, and for this reason, that no particle of the Body may be ejected with the water."

In the "Server's Mass Book," compiled by the Rev. G. P. Grantham, B.A. (London: J. Masters & Co., 1878), p. 8, we read, "Think of Jesus on the Cross dying for you. Think of His coming down upon our altars under the form of Bread and Wine! Every crumb on the Paten, every drop in the Chalice, has now become the whole Body, Blood, Soul, Spirit and Divinity of Jesus! Now is the time for you to worship Him, and to pray to Him in your own words for yourself, your priest, your relations, and friends. Do not look about you nor allow your thoughts to wander. JESUS IS HERE!"

As to the wafers made for massing priests, they usually bear the figure of a lamb or a crucifix. They are altogether unfit for food, and therefore are not bread. Before consecration the wafer is admitted on all hands to be but a wafer, only a 'lamb' made of paste. After consecration it is, we are told, God. So, before consecration, Aaron's calf was but a calf of gold; after consecration, it was worshipped as the God who saved Israel from Pharaoh. As far as I am aware no people have deliberately eaten their own god. Our Lord said to his disciples, "Do not ye yet understand that whatsoever entereth in at the mouth goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught?"

As far as the restoration of the Mass is concerned one of the best preventatives is the restoration of the custom of the true primitive church, the church of the first century, *i.e.*, of Evening Communion. The Romanizers insist on the Mass before breakfast. It is clear that this cannot be the Lord's Supper. In my parish the number of communicants in the evening is nearly

three times the number of those who communicate at mid-day. Nothing can surpass the quiet holy reverent demeanour of evening communicants. There is no law of our Protestant Church to prohibit Evening Communion. There is no law commanding early morning or fasting communions. The hour has wisely been left open as far as Church law is concerned. When Bp. Samuel Wilberforce urged that the institution of the Lord's Supper in the evening was "an exception," Bp. Jeune replied, "It is for your lordship to show how there could be an exception before there was a rule. And if it were an exception, then let my Lord's exception be my rule."

If I have used strong language it is no stronger than the nature of the case demands. John the Baptist, our Lord Jesus Christ, St. Paul, Martin Luther, Bp. Latimer, and Bp. Ryle, have used strong language, and no one need be ashamed to be found in the same list. The idolaters are not ashamed. We must speak the truth as plainly as they speak against the truth. Cowardice in this matter is shame to confess Christ. Plain speaking is what our Master expects. Were not many afraid, the plague of idolatry had not extended as it has. It may become worse. But we know that "the idols He will utterly abolish"—that He says "Little children, keep yourselves from idols." We are not to be continually warning people against error without publishing the truth; but we *do not preach the truth faithfully if we fail to expose error.* We must preach Christ's Gospel as Christ gave it. The world mocked our Lord and His Apostles. We must expect to be mocked. When all men speak well of us, we are under one of the 'woes' of our Master. But a constant appeal to the Word of God as the authority for all we teach; a persistent entreaty to "search the Scriptures;" persistent prayer for the Holy Spirit to give power to our ministry of the Word; and simple faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, these God will acknowledge, by His continual blessing, and by "signs following" which no one can misunderstand.

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OR,

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OF

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The Definition

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The Church of England.

THE well-known definition of the meaning of the *word* "Sacrament," given in the Catechism as printed in the Prayer Books sold by the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," is worded thus: "I mean an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us," &c. The National Society also publishes "Sunday School Lessons on the Church Catechism," by the Rev. John Watson, in which that Divine says (p. 181), "Let it be observed that there is no comma in the second Answer after the word 'grace.' In repetition a pause is too often made here, obscuring the true sense." The Printer Definition.

Nevertheless, it can be demonstrated that both the text of the S.P.C.K. and the commentary of the National Society are not merely inaccurate, but are contrary, both in the letter and the spirit, to the law of the land and the mind of the Church of England as expressed in its *authorised* Catechism.

The Book of Common Prayer differs from all other books in having its exact text fixed and safeguarded by Act of Parliament,

so that in case of dispute we may "certainly" know the true reading. Not only was the utmost care taken with the beautifully written MS. "annexed" to the Act of Uniformity (13 & 14 Car. II., c. iv.), but copies authenticated by the signatures of the Royal Commissioners and sealed with the Great Seal of England were made, and deposited in each of the cathedral and collegiate churches, the four courts of Westminster, and the Tower; and each of these "Sealed copies" is by the statute made "good and available in the law" as a legal standard of the true text. Eight of these Sealed copies were collated with the MS. attached to the Irish Act of Uniformity by Dr. A. J. Stephens in 1849 for the "Ecclesiastical History Society," and Mr. Masters has also reprinted the Tower copy. With the exception, however, of these reprints and that of the late Mr. Pickering, there is now absolutely no accurate copy of the authorised Prayer Book furnished to the Public by the printers!

Dr. Stephens carefully tested a large number of printed Prayer Books and found in them *thousands* of mistakes, so that he did not hesitate to say that "if the Attorney-General strictly discharged his duty, he would file an information against them' [the Queen's printers and the two Universities] 'for their breach of trust."[1] If some enterprising publisher would make a specialty of publishing cheaply the exact literal text of the "Sealed book" (with only such alterations as are authorised by Statute or by Orders in Council), he would find it remunerative even in a commercial point of view; and Churchmen who subscribe to the various Societies for publishing the Book of Common Prayer ought to insist on getting the genuine article for which they have to pay.

Sometimes controversialists try to throw dust in the eyes of unwary students by giving an imposing list of *printed* books in which some particular false reading which happens to suit their views may be found. But it is sufficient to say, in reply, that if *every* printed book from 1662 to the present day contained a reading which is *not* found in the Sealed books, the agreement would

[1] "Notes Legal and Historical," vol. ii., Preface p. xxxvi.

only convict their printers of carelessness in copying one anothers' blunders, or of conspiracy to defraud.

The Church's Definition.

The authentic reading of the passage above quoted is, "**I mean an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, given unto us, ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof.**"

Now it is obvious on looking at *this* sentence, that on no known system of punctuation could a participial adjective be comma'd off from the noun with which it *immediately* agrees, and which stands *next* it in the sentence. Therefore "given" relates *not* to "grace" but to "sign." This comes out clearly in the earliest Welsh Prayer Book (that of 1664) authorised by sec. 27 of the Act of Uniformity, and which, literally translated, reads: "I understand a sign visible and outward, of spiritual grace within, given to us; which Christ himself ordained, as a means for us to receive grace through it, and to be a pledge to assure us of that grace."[2]

The earliest Latin translation was that of Durel, dedicated to K. Charles II., in A.D. 1670. Dean Durel was the executor of Bishop Cosin and the Official translator of the Prayer Book of 1662 into French. Lord Selborne says in his "Notes on the Liturgy" (p. 73), "There seems to be some reason to believe that this may be the same Latin translation which was made under the direction of Convocation, as recorded in its Acts of the 26th April, 1662, and the 18th of May, 1664: because it can hardly be supposed that a version made under such auspices would have been entirely suppressed, and the work of a private translator preferred." Durel renders it "Externum et visibile signum intelligo, internæ ac spiritualis gratiæ, *quod* nobis datur," &c.; where, "sign" being *neuter*, and "grace" *feminine*, it is clear that the clause—

[2] Marshall's "Latin Prayer Book of Charles II.," p. 155. "Yr Wyfi yn ddeall, Arwydd gweledig oddi allan, o râs ysprydol oddifewn, a roddir i ni; yr hwn a ordeiniodd Crist ei hun, megis modd i ni i dderbyn y grâs hwnnw trwyddo, ac i fod yn wystl i'n siccrhau ni o'r grâs hwnnw." In modern reprints of this book, published by the S.P.C.K., the punctuation has here also been changed.

"given to us"—relates to "sign" and not to "grace." This reading was followed by Parker's and Bagster's Latin Prayer Books until the year 1866, when the latter *changed* it into "gratiæ collatæ," for some unexplained reason. The first writer, however, who ventured to make this unauthorised change was Mockett (A.D.1617), whose book was forthwith ordered to be burned publicly, and Collier[3] adds that he was accused also of mutilating the Homilies. This publication, thus discredited, made by a private individual, is the earliest known authority for the popular mis-reading.

But the Manuscript "annexed" to the Act of Uniformity is absolutely decisive as to the true reading—viz., "sign of . . grace, given."[4] Nothing *can* add to the value of this credential, else pages might be filled with a list of the editions in which the true reading was retained. The *earliest* text of the latter half of the Catechism, viz., the Letters Patents of King James, as given in *both* editions of Rymer's "Fœdera,"[5] gives the same : the two editions of 1603 (O. S.), which were the earliest printed containing this part of the Catechism, give the same.[6] It is found also in "Sancroft's Prayer Book" in the Bodleian (dated 1634), which was used by the Committee for preparing the Revision of 1661 ; also in the Black-letter Book of 1636 (photozincographed by Government), in which Convocation (in 1661) "marked up" all their alterations. It is found also in the MS. annexed to the Irish Act of Uniformity (17 & 18 Car. ii., c. 6, Ireland).[7] In short, *it is found in every Prayer Book which has any pretension to an Official character.*

Terms of the Definition.

Before considering the precise theological value of the reinstated words "sign . . . given unto us," it is worth while briefly to consider the entire sentence in which they occur. Observe then,

[3] Eccl. Hist., vii-390.

[4] Chronicle of Convocation, 1868, vol. iii., App. p. 7. Marshall, p. 152.

[5] It is necessary to note this because Cardwell's "Hist. Conf.," p. 220, *professes* to copy "Rymer," but has in fact altered the text found *loco citato*.

[6] In the British Museum are a quarto and a folio edition, both dated "1603," which year ended March 24th, Old Style. They do not contain the proclamation of King James which was dated March 5th, 1603-4, and they must have been printed before that date, and after the issue of the

1st, That the words are professedly given as the formal *definition* of a technical term—"this WORD 'Sacrament.'" 2nd, That the "word" means "a sign OF[8] grace," not a sign AND grace (compare Articles XXIX. and XXX.). 3rd, That "inward" and "outward" relate respectively to the soul and body of the receiver, not to the sign. For example, "the inward and spiritual grace" of baptism (viz. "a death unto sin, and a new birth," &c.), are not contained in the water of the font, but in the soul which thus dies, and is new born. Grace can form no "part" of a "Sign OF grace."

Put into the form of question and answer the sentence would stand thus :—

What sort of sign is a "sacrament"?
- i. An outward and visible.
- ii. Of an inward and spiritual grace.
- iii. Given unto us.
- iv. Ordained by Christ himself { (*a*) As a means. (*b*) As a pledge.

No. i. Describes the Sign. (ii.) Gives the thing Signified. (iii.) Refers to the Form. (iv.) Specifies the Institution.[9]

In a "Practical Exposition of the Church Catechism," published in 1708, by Matthew Hole, B.D., Fellow of Exeter Coll., Oxford, and dedicated to Bishop Trelawny, the necessary constituents of a "Sacrament" are thus enumerated :—

"i. There must be an outward visible sign.
ii. An inward and spiritual grace represented by it.
iii. *It must be given or applied to us.*
iv. It must be ordained by Christ himself.
v. It must be ordained as a means to convey grace.
vi. It must be ordained as a pledge or earnest to assure us thereof."

The drift of the sentence is well summed up, for children, in "Meres on the Catechism" (published by Heywood, Paternoster Buildings, price twopence) : "I mean an outward and visible sign

---

Letters Patents, Feb. 9th, 1603-4. The copy, "C. 25. m. 11," is quite perfect. There are also a quarto and a folio of 1604. (C. 25. $\frac{h.}{1}$ 13, and $\frac{3405.}{1}$ d. 5), and a folio of 1605, "C. 25. m. 9, and 3406. e." All these (which are the only copies of those years) give the comma after "Grace."

[7] Stephens' Irish Prayer Book, ii. 512.

[8] Compare Ridley in Foxe A. and M., Townsend's Edition, vii. 563.

[9] Marshall, p. 152.

of an inward and spiritual grace, (which sign is) given unto us, (and this outward and visible sign so given, was) ordained by Christ himself as a means whereby (by which) we receive the same (inward and spiritual grace), and a pledge to assure us thereof (of our receiving that grace)."

History of the Definition.

It has been shown by various writers[10] that the second part of the Church Catechism relating to the Sacraments was not composed by Dean Overall, but merely edited by him from Nowell's, which had been approved by the Convocations of 1562, 1571, and 1603. Nowell's "Shorter" Catechism (its immediate source) is mentioned in Canon 79, and may be procured from M'Gee, 18, Nassau Street, Dublin, price two shillings. It is very little known in England, being often mistaken for the "Larger" or "Middle" Catechism, published by the Parker Society, and by the Prayer Book and Homily Society.

This "Little Catechism set forth by Authority" gives the question and answer thus:—

"What meanest thou by this word Sacrament?"

"I mean an outward and visible sign representing an inward and invisible spiritual grace, ordeined by Christ himself, to testify God's good will and bountifulnesse towardes us through the same Christ our Saviour: by the which, God's promises touching forgiuenes of sinnes and eternal salvation geven through Christ, are as it were sealed, and the truth of them is more certainly confirmed in our hartes."

The words "by the which God's promises . . . are . . . sealed . . . in our hearts" correspond to the plainer language of Overall "as a means whereby we receive the same"; while the words "the truth of them is more certainly confirmed in our hearts" correspond to the present clause "as a pledge to assure us thereof." The next question ran, "How many parts *then* be there in a Sacrament?" Thus showing that the (popular) statement about two "parts" *resulted from* the (theological) definition of the "*Word*" previously given.

[10] Goode's "Nature of Christ's Presence in the Eucharist," vol. ii., p. 728; Dr. Stephens' "Argument in the Bennett case," p. 92; Cardwell's "Synodalia," i. 128; Churton's "Life of Nowell," pp. 185, 191; Jacobson's Pref. to Nowell's Cat., p. xxxv.; Stephens' Notes Legal, &c., p. cxviii.

It is a curious coincidence that Overall himself, the reputed editor of the latter half of the Catechism, has (like the Catechism) been tampered with as to this very point.

He had written "so that in the right *use* of the sacrament, and to those who receive worthily, the bread being given and received, the body of Christ is given and received." And again, "in the sacrament of the Eucharist, the body and blood of Christ, and thus whole Christ is given to the worthy receivers not by way of transubstantiation or consubstantiation, but by the Holy Spirit operating *through faith*."

Mr. Alexander Knox, in quoting this, thought it right to entirely omit the words "*usu* sacramenti, *digne*que recipientibus,"[11] and to change "recto" into "recte," in order to conceal the "mis-print." Thus Overall is quoted by him as though he had said without any qualification that "in the bread duly given and received the body of Christ is given": whereas Overall is expressly defending himself against the false imputation which "they pretended that I should affirm . . . the body and blood of Christ is really and substantially present in the Eucharist," for which he carefully substituted the words quoted in footnote [11].

The addition, therefore, in 1604, of the words "given unto us" as *part of the* DEFINITION of the *word* "Sacrament" was new, being then designedly interpolated into Nowell's simpler though vaguer definition.

Import of the Definition.

Two very grave and most important theological truths were thus safeguarded from Romish error by this apparently simple addition. The first is the doctrine that the sacramental *Action,* no less than the mere element, is of the *essence* of a "Sacrament"; in other

[11] The misquotation is found in *both* editions of Knox's "Remains," and is retained by the Rev. Jas. Hornby in his reprint of Knox "On the doctrine of the Sacraments," p. 94. The original Latin may be seen in the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, No. 3142, pp. 24, 95. It runs "ita ut in recto usu sacramenti, digneque recipientibus, dato et accepto pane, detur et accipiatur corpus Christi," and after rejecting transubstantiation and consubstantiation it adds "*similiave* rationis humanæ commenta." In the second sentence the words are "digne recipientibus non per modum transubstantiationis, nec per modum consubstantiationis, sed *Spiritu* Sancto *per fidem* operante."

words, that "sacraments" are not sacraments "extra usum," *i.e.* when *un*used, or when used *otherwise* than is warranted by "Christ's institution and promise" (to which Article XXVI. rightly declares they owe all their efficacy). For instance, Baptism is not mere consecrated water, but water "wherein the person *is baptized*." So likewise there can be no "Supper of the Lord," when the consecrated elements are merely reserved, gazed upon, or worshipped. (Art. XXVIII.)[12] The cup when denied to the communicant, and the reserved host though censed, adored, and carried about in procession, is no "sacrament of the Gospel" by "Christ's institution and promise," because not "GIVEN TO US."

The Sacramental "Action."

The "matter" of a Sacrament needs not only a "form" of consecrating prayer, but a *sacramental application* and use of the matter before this definition of a "sacrament" can be fulfilled. Indeed, it may be observed that the sacramental *action* was more directly "ordained by Christ himself" than the sacramental "matter." "Water" was not mentioned in the institution of baptism, nor "wine" in that of the Eucharist; whereas, "Baptize," "Take," "Eat," "Drink ye ALL" were expressly commanded, and the "promise" of Christ annexed to those sacramental actions. For the "promise" was made to the individual communicant, not to the inanimate "creatures." It was, as Hooker[13] says, "*first* 'Take, eat;' *then* 'This is my body.'" It is "as oft as ye *eat* this bread, or *drink* this cup, that ye do show the Lord's death." (1 Cor. xi. 26.) The "breaking" of the bread was not a mere ritual or symbolical act; it was for *distribution* to those who were "all part-takers of that one loaf." (1 Cor. x. 17.) The broken bread was in the hands of the disciples *before* our Lord said, "This is my body." (St. Matthew xxvi. 26.) And "they

[12] "Christ's ordinance," in Art. 28, is obviously equivalent to "Christ's institution and promise" in Art. 26, and to "ordained by Christ Himself" in the Catechism.

[13] "Eccl. Pol.," V. lxvii-6. Scudamore, "Notit. Euch.," p. 442. The Councils of Trullo and Carthage rebuked the superstitious usage of burying the Host with the dead, on this ground, that "the bodies of the dead could neither '*Take*' nor '*Eat*.'" (Stephens, "Notes Legal and Historical," p. 1686.)

all *drank* of it" *before* He said, "This is my blood." (St. Mark xiv. 23.)

Thus we see how, in the definition of a "Sacrament," the addition of the requirement that it *must* be "given unto us" cuts at the root of Reservation and adoration of the consecrated wafer, Benediction with the tabernacled species, and all kindred superstitions. For, as Bishop Cosin expressed it :—

"We deny that the elements still retain the nature of sacraments when not used according to Divine institution, that is, *given* by Christ's ministers, and *received* by His people; so that Christ in the consecrated bread ought not, *cannot*, be kept and preserved to be carried about, because He is present only to the communicants." [14]

"If," says Bishop Jeremy Taylor,

"The bread was not consecrated when Christ said, '*Take, eat,*' then Christ bid them take bread, and eat bread, and they did so; but if it was consecrated by these words—['*Take, eat,*' there being nothing to show why they should not form part of the institution or consecration]—then the words of consecration refer wholly to use, and it is Christ's body *only* in the *taking* and *eating;* which is the thing we contend for." [15]

It would not be possible to express this idea in clearer or more solemn language than that used by Bishops Coverdale, Ferrar, Hooper, and their fellow-Martyrs as their joint confession of faith :—

"We confess and believe the sacraments of Christ, which be Baptism and the Lord's Supper, that they ought to be ministered according to the institution of Christ . . . And that they be no longer Sacraments, than they be had in use, and used to the end for which they were instituted." [16]

Hence, when it was objected to Philpot the Martyr, at his examnation, that "you will make the Sacrament to stand in the receiving, and that receiving maketh it a Sacrament," he replied, "I do not say that the receiving only maketh it a Sacrament; but I say that a common receiving must needs be concurrent with the true Sacrament, *as a necessary member, without which it cannot be a Sacrament.*" [17] When asked, "Then you would not have it to be

[14] "Hist. Transubstantiation," p. 60.

[15] "Real Presence," p. 556, seq.

[16] Foxe, "Act. and Mon.," vi. 553; or Bradford's Works, P.S., p. 373. Hooper's Later Writings, p. 49.

[17] Philpot's Writings, P.S., p. 95.

the body of Christ, unless it be received?" he answered, "No, verily it is not the very body of Christ to any other, but such as condignly receive the same after His institution." (P. 67.)

Bradford the Martyr also testified—"The receiving maketh not the presence: but God's grace, truth, and power is the cause of the presence, which grace the wicked that lack faith cannot receive. . . . This is a promise *depending upon condition,* if we take, and eat."[18] Compare the very accurate statement made also by another Martyr, in Foxe, viii. 715. Also Bucer's statement, "It is anti-christian to affirm that aught of Christ is present in the elements apart from their use in giving and receiving."[19]

The same thought had been expressed by Ridley:—"The Body of Christ is communicated and given, not to the bread and wine but to them which worthily do receive the sacrament" . . . "the sacrament hath not grace included in it; but to those that receive it well, it is turned to grace,"[20] or, as Archbishop Cranmer expressed it, "the working of God in the Sacraments is not his working by grace in the water, bread, and wine, but in them that duly receive the same."[21]

So then, "Sign-given-unto-us" is equivalent to "Ordinance" or "Rite." Cranmer explained that he sometimes used the word "Sacrament" for the sacramental sign, but "sometime by this word 'Sacrament' I mean the *whole ministration and receiving* of the sacraments, either of Baptism or of the Lord's Supper; and so the old writers many times do say that Christ or the Holy Ghost be present in the sacraments; not meaning by that manner of speech that Christ and the Holy Ghost be present *in* the water, bread, or wine—which be only the outward visible sacraments, but that in the due *ministration* of the sacraments according to Christ's ordinance and institution, Christ and his Holy Spirit be truly and indeed present by their mighty and sanctifying power, virtue, and grace, in all them that worthily *receive* the same."[22]

[18] Foxe, A. and M., vii. 163.

[19] Cited in "Woodhead's Two Discourses," 1687, p. 2.

[20] Works, P.S., p. 240. [21] "Answer to Gardiner," P.S., p. 232, cf. 180.

[22] "Answer to Gardiner," Preface, p. 3; compare p. 232, line 5, and Bullinger's "Decades," v. 269.

So at a later date, Bishop Philpotts of Exeter, in his "Answer to Butler,"[23] gave this caution as to the "ambiguous meaning of the word Sacrament":—

"A word sometimes and more strictly applied to the sign, or matter, sometimes to the *whole sacred rite*. Now, it is in the former sense that the Church of Rome holds the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament; it is in the latter that the real presence in the sacrament, maintained by the Church of England, must be sought."

Sacraments *versus* Sacrifice.

But we have not even yet got at the principal reason for adding the words "given unto us" to the definition of a "sacrament." It was done to accentuate the contrast between a "sacrament" and a "sacrifice." A Sacrament, *as such*, was God's gift to man: a "Sacrifice," *as such*, was man's gift to God. To make their being "given TO US," to stand as a necessary part of the very *definition* of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper was therefore to guard against this confusion. The Benediction in our English Liturgy, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which *was* given FOR thee," did not exist in the mediæval office books. It is taken from the Reformed office of Cologne, viz. Archbishop Herman's "Consultation," which was translated into English in 1548, and the following extracts from his book throw light upon the changes then adopted by the English Reformers:—

"Before all things the pastors must labour to take out of men's minds that false and wicked opinion whereby men *think commonly that the priest in masses offereth up Christ our Lord to God the Father*' [compare Art. XXXI.] 'after that sort, that with his *intention and prayer* he causeth Christ to become a new and acceptable sacrifice to the Father for the salvation of men, *applieth and communicateth the merit of the passion of Christ and of the saving sacrifice whereby the Lord Himself offered Himself to the Father a sacrifice on the cross*, to them that receive the same with their own faith . . . the Holy Fathers by the name of sacrifice understood *not application*, which was devised a great while after . . but a solemn remembrance of the sacrifice of Christ, as Augustine expoundeth it."[24]

Ten years before the publication of Herman's book, the German

[23] Ed. Murray, 1866, p. 120.

[24] Bishop Thirlwall's "Charge," 1867, p. 145.

Ambassadors had urged upon King Henry VIII., that the words "Take, eat, drink," could not mean "Sacrifice."

"Nor is it commanded by these words that we should offer aught to God, but rather should receive from Him, since He adds 'given for you,' and 'blood which is poured out for you;' which words show that the Eucharist is not exhibited as a sacrifice to God by those who take it, but a gift given to men."

After a long argument to this end they conclude:—

"Wherefore it cannot be called a sacrifice since no one can be ignorant that there is a great difference between sacrifices and sacraments: by the latter we receive gifts offered *to us* by God, by the former we render and offer *to God* what is ours."[25]

This thought was indeed a theological common-place. The Homily for Whit-Sunday says, "Christ commended to His Church a *Sacrament* of His body and blood; they have changed it into a *Sacrifice* for the quick and dead."[26] Bishop Geste (who was one of the Royal Commissioners for revising the Prayer Book under Elizabeth, and the reputed "penman" of a portion of Art. XXVIII.) said in 1548—"which is the Sacrament and not the sacrifice, for in the sacrifice there is nothing *applied* and rendered *to us*, but to God alone—for why, the appliall and delivery of the fruits of Christ's death and again-rising to us, is God's gift to us, and *not ours to Him*, so that it is the Sacrament and not the sacrifice of the Mass that is available."[27] Archbishop Grindal, another Royal Commissioner for revising the Prayer Book, said, "Christ gave a Sacrament to strengthen men's faith; the priest giveth a sacrifice to redeem men's souls. Christ gave it to be *eaten;* the priest giveth it to be worshipped."[28] Bishop Jewel, the official "Apologist" of the Church of England, said, "it is our faith that applies to us the death and cross of Christ, and not the acting of a mass-priest."[29] Roger Hutchinson in his "Image of God," published A.D. 1550, said, "Wherefore the Supper of the Lord is no sacrifice for sin, *forasmuch* as it is a sacrament."[30]

[25] Burnet, "Hist. Ref.," vol. i., pt. 2, pp. 504-7.

[26] The Homily on the Sacrament says, "Take heed lest of the memory it be made a *sacrifice* . . . Thou needest no other man's help, no other sacrifice or oblation, no sacrificing Priest, no Mass."

[27] "Treatise against the Privy Mass," p. 97.

[28] "Remains," p. 57.

[29] "Apol.," p. 64.

[30] Works, Parker Soc., p. 49.

Bishop Cooper, A.D. 1562, said: "A sacrifice is a thing *given to God:* the Sacrament was a thing *given to us.* Nothing, therefore, can be of nature more contrary than your sacrifice and Christ's Sacrament."[81]

Bishop Bilson, A.D. 1585, said: "The Lord's table . . . is an heavenly banquet which we must eat and not sacrifice; but the duties which He requireth at our hands when we approach His table are sacrifices, not sacraments."[82]

Bishop Beveridge, on Article XXXI., says: "As the doctrine is contrary to Holy Scripture, so it is repugnant to reason too, there being so vast a difference betwixt a sacrament and a sacrifice. If it be a sacrament it is not a sacrifice, and if it be a sacrifice it is not a sacrament—it being impossible it should be a sacrament and a sacrifice too."

Waterland[83] obviates the objection which might be raised to this last statement by pointing out that "our Lord's sacrifice actively considered, as a proper *Act* of sacrific*ing,* was performed once for all, was one *transient* act . . . therefore Christ's sacrifice is our sacrifice, but" [*i.e.* solely] "in the *passive* sense, for us to partake of, not to *give to God.*" In other words, a sacrific*ed* Victim is not the same thing as an *Act* of sacrificial offer*ing*, though the same ambiguous term "Sacrifice" is indiscriminately applied to both. In the latter sense of the word we have the testimony of Cardinal Newman, in 1879, that "sacraments the Church of England has ever claimed, but *never* sacrifice."[84]

Summary.

It has been shown that the two ideas of (1st) a Covenant *Rite* of the New Testament, as distinguished from mere consecrated matter; and (2nd) of a Gift from above downwards (*i.e. from* God to man) as contradistinguished from the Pagan and Jewish belief in human sacrificial offerings from man *to* God, were intended to be embodied and perpetuated by the new definition of a "Sacrament:" the word "GIVEN" excluding non-communicant attendance or

[81] "Answer to Apology of the Private Mass," p. 88.
[82] Waterland "On the Eucharist," p. 428, note. [83] Works, V., 235.
[84] Preface to "Hutton's Anglican Ministry," p. x.

"hearing mass;" the words "UNTO US" excluding all notion of sin-offerings, "so that they must let *that* alone for ever." (Psalm xlix. 8, Prayer Book version.)

Sacraments are "instruments moral not mechanical."

But, beside this, the vulgar reading, "grace given," is inaccurate also in a Theological sense. It is not true that an *actual* gift of grace is any part of the definition of a "Sacrament." The baptism of Simon Magus (Acts viii. 21) and the XXIXth Article of Religion show that a sacrament may be complete in itself though no grace be actually "given." (*See* last clause of Article XXV.) Moreover, the words "grace given" would have been altogether superfluous, seeing that Christ could "ordain" nothing in vain, nor could His "pledge" be worthless. Therefore, the definition of "Faith" as a "belief in *promises* made to us in that sacrament" excludes all need of any such iteration. Moreover, the vulgar misreading makes the very next Question and Answer in the Catechism contradict the present one: the earlier one making a "Sacrament" to be a sign "*of*" grace; the other, a sign "*and*" grace. Whereas,

True Definition alone harmonises with context.

"Sign-*given*-unto-us" is equivalent to Rite or Ordinance; and there is then no contradiction in saying that there are two "parts" to be considered in the *Ordinance*, viz. what is outside the communicant and what is "within" him. On the other hand the Ritualistic doctrine is that Grace is a "substance"[35] included "under the form," *i.e.* within the superficies of the consecrated matter which is therefore capable of being treated as an idol or as a charm, and need not necessarily be "given unto" the worshipper. Ritualists further contradict the Catechism by making one of the sacraments to have "Two parts;" the other, *Three* (*signum, res, virtus*).

Again, the gift of Christ's body "*For*" us—which is past, and the gift of that same body "*To*" us—which is present, are clearly discriminated the one from the other by the *authorised* definition that a Sacrament is essentially a thing (*quod nobis datur*) which is *given* unto us.

[35] "Blunt's Annotated Prayer Book," vol. ii., p. 158. Cobb's "Sequel to Kiss of Peace," p. 408.

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Non-Communicating Attendance

AT

Holy Communion,

THE OPINION OF

PROFESSORS OF DIVINITY

AT

OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE.

THE Rev. J. Coley has published the following replies of the Oxford and Cambridge Professors of Divinity respecting the practice of non-communicating attendance. As the eminence of the writers gives a permanent value to their testimony, we reprint the whole series from the *Church Intelligencer* of February 1st.

From the Margaret Professor of Divinity, Oxford,
January 6th, 1886.

"I have no hesitation in saying that 'non-communicating attendance' has no warrant in Scripture, no countenance in the practice of the early Church, no sanction from the Church of England. As to Scripture, all that we read there implies actual participation. So our Lord, when speaking by way of anticipation, St. John vi.-53: 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have no life in you.' And when instituting the Sacrament, St. Matthew xxvi.-26, 27: 'Take, eat; drink ye all of this.' The order of the Greek is remarkable —*πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες*. St. Paul (1 Cor. xi.-26), after relating the account of the institution, goes on—'For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death, till He come.' So that to be present without communicating is plainly *beside* the purpose of the Sacrament; it *fulfils no duty;* it has *no promise of a blessing*. The rule of the ancient Church was that all who, being in full communion with the Church, were present at the earlier part of the service, *should remain to*

communicate. Unhappily, in practice, matters soon came to be as with us; numbers who might communicate left without communicating. But none were permitted to remain without communicating; save certain who were not in full communion with the Church, viz. the most advanced class of penitents. These did not communicate, not because they *would* not, but because they *might not.* The mind of the Church of England is expressed very plainly in the Homily on the worthy receiving of the Sacrament—'Where every one of us must be guests and not gazers, eaters and not lookers, feeding ourselves and not hiring other to feed for us,' &c., &c.

"(Signed) C. A. Heurtley."

From the Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford, *January 8th*, 1886.

"The practice of non-communicating attendance at the Holy Sacrament has always appeared to me utterly unscriptural and unprimitive. It is contrary to the plain intention of Christ Himself, who, in founding the sacred feast as a perpetual rite, expressly said, 'Take and *eat: Drink* ye *all* of this cup.' I can see no evidence whatever in Scripture that there was any intention of providing an object of worship in the Eucharist, in the presence of which prayer would be specially acceptable. Early Canons denounce the practice, which grew up as a corruption apparently in the fourth century. The whole question was exhaustively treated many years ago in a small volume by the late Mr. Scudamore on the 'Communion of the Laity.' The theory on which the practice rests would be rejected alike by Hooker and by Jeremy Taylor.

"(Signed) William Ince."

From the Margaret Professor of Divinity (late Hulsean Professor), Cambridge, *January 14th*, 1886.

"To the best of my knowledge there is no evidence for the practice of non-communicating attendance in at least the first four centuries, except either as a penal privation inflicted on one class of penitents, or as a popular abuse rebuked by authority. The doctrinal grounds, on which it is defended, appear to me to receive no support from Scripture or from any formulary of the Church of England; and the results, to which it naturally leads, are in my belief disastrous.

"(Signed) F. J. A. Hort."

From the Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, *January 20th*, 1886.

"In Bingham's 'Antiquities of the Christian Church,' Bk. xv., ch. iv., sec. 1, the author gives authorities to show that 'all, except catechumens and those under penance, were to stay at the prayers of the faithful and make their oblations and

receive the Communion.' In the next section he says: 'In St. Chrysostom's time some began to desire they might have liberty to stay during the performance of the whole office, and yet not be obliged to communicate. They were not willing to be accounted penitents and be driven out with them, and yet they would not be communicants and orderly partake with the Church. Against these St. Chrysostom inveighs after his usual manner, with a great deal of eloquence and becoming sharpness.' Bingham then quotes from Chrysostom's Third Homily on Eph. which is very much to the point, and adds after it:—'I have transcribed this long but elegant passage of Chrysostom to show that in his time by the rules of the Church none were allowed to refrain from partaking of the Eucharist, on the pretence of unworthiness, who were not deemed unworthy to be present at the prayers also.' Waterland in his treatise on the Eucharist (ch. xiv.) quotes the same passage of Chrysostom and other authorities, and traces the regulations and order about frequent Communion from the first to the eight century. The mind of the Reformers is made fairly plain in the Third Rubric after the Offertory sentences in Edward VI.'s first Prayer Book, which says: 'So many as shall be partakers of the Holy Communion shall tarry still in the quire, or in some convenient place nigh the quire, the men on the one side and the women on the other side. All other (that mind not to receive the said Holy Communion) shall depart out of the quire, except the ministers and clerks.' If any comment be needed on this, it may be found in the writings of Dr. Thomas Becon, chaplain to Cranmer. There, in a treatise on the 'Articles of Christian Religion' (Becon, Parker Society, vol. iii., p. 481), you have one Article (the nineteenth), 'That none ought to be present at the ministration of the Lord's Supper but the communicants only.' There you will find numerous 'probations out of the old fathers.'"

"(Signed) J. Rawson Lumby."

From the late Margaret Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, *March 29th*, 1886.

"I need not go into the question of what I am much disposed to call this act of disobedience and profanation. So far as modern English customs go, it is a pure and simple imitation of the Roman habit, and part and parcel of that imitation of Rome which has been going on for the last thirty years, but which I do not think is spreading now. My objections to it are most strong. First, I believe that there is a true danger of people habituating themselves to be present, who are living consciously sinful lives, and who dare not receive; and yet they are taught that it is a meritorious act to be present at the 'sacrifice.' My thought about this is drawn from a reflection on those who were present at the great sacrifice of Christ Himself upon the Cross. Did the multitude, or the priests, or the Pharisees,

receive any benefit? Was there any meritorious act there? I shudder at the thought, that there can be any merit, any benefit, at being present now at the consecration, even to those who hold that there is in it a continuation of the One great act commenced at the time when our Blessed Lord offered up Himself.

" (Signed) C. A. SWAINSON."

" Canon Westcott, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, also agrees with me, but does not wish his letter to be published. It is high time that our people should know the extent to which the facts of ecclesiastical history, and the usage of the Primitive Church, and the mind of our Reformers have been misrepresented for party purposes. J. COLEY."

" SOUTHWOLD, *December* 15*th*."

Persons interested in this subject should further consult the following Papers, both published by the Church Association, and to be obtained as under:—

LXXXVII. **"Hearing Mass"** *versus* **"The Lord's Supper or Holy Communion."**

XCIV. **The Doctrine of a "Spiritual" Presence** as taught by the Ritualists.

The Church Intelligencer, the organ of the Church Association. One Penny per month. Annual Subscription, 1*s* 6*d*.

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HENRY MILLER, ESQ., 14, Buckingham Street, Strand, London.

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5th Thousand.]

THE PRIEST

AND THE

PRIVY COUNCIL.

Being a Reply to the Misrepresentations of the Privy Council Judgments put forth by Ritualists.

By J. CLEMENTS.

THIRD EDITION.

London:
J. F. SHAW, 48, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

Price Fourpence.

No. 100.]

"*Consideration, like an angel, came*
And whipped the offending Adam."

King Henry V.

☞ *FOR INDEX OF SUBJECTS, see page* 8.

THE PRIEST AND THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

To the Rt. Hon. Viscount Cross, P.C., G.C.B.

My Lord,

My apology for publicly addressing a Letter to your Lordship is to be found in the fact that you have already been made the recipient of a published Letter in which my name was unfairly and improperly introduced.

Your unbidden correspondent, the Rev. Coker Adams, in his Letter to you entitled "The Church and the Council," says, p. 9:—

"It is for the third time I venture to chronicle the manifold and grievous faults observable in this unhappy set of decisions" [the judgments of the Privy Council], "scarcely trusting myself to attack thus vehemently the reputation for wisdom and justice which the members of this secular tribunal enjoy, yet conscious that I have fully considered and verified, again and again, every instance now to be adduced, and that when about a year ago ten of their number were called into question by Mr. Clements, a skilled controversialist of the Church Association, I found no difficulty in proving the correctness of them all. Judge THEN for yourself, sir, of the consistency, the impartiality, the wisdom, the knowledge, *the care for truth and right*, displayed by this host of admired lawyers," &c.

Mr. Adams thus makes his alleged refutation of my criticisms a ground for claiming to assail afresh men like Lords Cranworth, Westbury, Hatherley, Cairns, Selborne, Campbell, Kingsdown, and their colleagues for lack of "care for truth and right," and again sets himself to make from their Judgments a "list of the

inconsistencies with truth, with reason, and with each other," to the number of "fully 150." (p. 8.)

Now, the fact is that in the published correspondence with Mr. Adams to which he alludes, my last two letters, which appeared in *The North-Western Gazette,* May 10 and 24, 1884, remain to this day without any answer at all. As he now chooses to repeat misrepresentations the character of which was then pointed out, it becomes my duty to warn you against the reckless and untrustworthy criticisms which are hashed up "for the third time" for your benefit.

Mr. Adams remarks (p. 5) that you have not read the Judgments in question, and in evident reliance upon this supposed ignorance of yours he ventures to make statements which, by anyone who compares them with the documents themselves, will be seen at a glance to be absurd.

In the Appendix to this Letter I have examined his statements one by one, and have supplied the references which Mr. Adams was, for obvious reasons, careful to suppress. A writer whose ignorance enables him to speak of the supremacy of the Crown "in all CAUSES" (Art. 37) as "pertaining to the *executive* only" ("Church and Law," p. 7); and so unfamiliar with history as to attribute to Henry VIII., of all people in the world, the notion that "the administration of spiritual discipline must be left to spiritual* persons" (p. 23), or who could perpetrate the series of blunders detailed in the Appendix might, you will say, be left to find his own level.

But, unhappily, experience has taught us that while dignitaries of the law are precluded by their very position from vindicating their Judgments from comments made (as Archbishop Tait expressed it) by "persons less perfectly acquainted with the principles and practice of the law than themselves," no one else feels it to be his business, or cares to take the trouble to educate Norfolk parsons in the elementary principles involved in such questions.

* Such, I presume, as Thomas Cromwell, or the lay Chancellors inaugurated by 37 Hen. VIII., c. 17, or the King in Chancery, inaugurated by 25 Hen. VIII., c. 19, or the trial for heresy, in which "the King's Grace, being a layman," presided in person.

Having yourself been a member of the Royal Commission, you cannot fail to remember that when Dr. Littledale and Mr. MacColl were examined as to the causes of dissatisfaction with the existing tribunal, not a hint was given of the scandals now alleged. Instant exposure would have overtaken such impudent fables had they been broached in the presence of the Commission expressly sitting to ascertain all grievances and defects that were supposed to exist.

Yet we know that for years before this Commission sat, a methodized and organized system of slander had been actively at work, with the express object of lowering the prestige of a body unequalled in Europe for the breadth of its knowledge of varied forms of law, and incapable of being replaced by its equal. At meetings of the English Church Union (and even occasionally at Diocesan Conferences) the "faithful" have been for years regaled with choice morsels of slander. Let me give but two (out of hundreds equally strong) from the *Church Times*:—

"That Court never opened its mouth without committing some outrage upon history, grammar, chronology, or common sense." (Leader, November 14, 1884.)

"The Privy Council judges flung over with both hands all the simplest and plainest principles of law in order to compass their bad ends. They had to belie their whole professional training, to act directly in the teeth of every maxim they had learnt since they began their legal studies. No mere prejudice could so revolutionize the intellect or so distort the memory. The conclusion necessarily is that they sinned with their eyes open, because they chose to do it; they conspired to defeat justice, and committed a great civil crime, as well as that deep sin which Holy Writ puts next in heinousness to the shedding of innocent blood, and against which its threatenings are many and awful." (Leader, March 6, 1885.)

Do not, however, flatter yourself, my Lord, that you are held any less cheaply than they.* Mr. Adams says, "the distinction is immaterial" between the Privy Council or its Judicial Committee (p. 1). He is the Author of hardly *one* of the falsehoods to be found in his pamphlet, and does but act as the *chiffonnier* who gathers every bit of welcome garbage from the dirt-heap of the ritualistic newspapers, those unrivalled compendiums of pole-

* In his third edition Mr. Adams describes Viscount Cross as a man "dead to conviction, buried in unconcern for matters of truth and justice.

al scurrility. In one of his pamphlets (in which, by-the-way, he had the good taste to pirate the title of Archbishop Tait's "Church and Law," then recently published) Mr. Adams tells us jauntily (p. 17) that "as for the numerous citations of authorities, especially in the last, I cannot pretend to test them all."

That, however, did not prevent his abusing the Judgment; for, as he candidly explains, he has a deliberate purpose. He is of opinion ("Church and Law," p. 25) that the clergy should be "tried, *at least* for professional offences, by persons of the same order with themselves:"—on the same principle, I presume, that we should leave doctors to be tried for malpractice by medical judges, or bakers to be tried only by past apprentices of the craft for adulterating flour or giving short weight.

With a view to hasten the advent of this clerical millennium, he suggests that his pamphlet may be a means of "getting rid bodily" of the Privy Council, "even without substituting any other jurisdiction" (p. 19). Much as he hates it, he wishes to "avoid yet more heartily all endeavours to reform it, or to set up another jurisdiction of a like character" (p. 23). The Common Law Courts, he tells us (p. 20), are even worse than the Privy Council. There is "a wicked conspiracy of the judges and statesmen against the clergy," so that "we can no longer look to the so-called House of Lords, to the Lords Justices, or to the Common Law Divisions for redress" ("Church and Law," "Letter 3," p. 12). In short, "this monstrous regiment of laymen" (p. 23), and "that lay domination in spiritual matters" (p. 20), is what moves his choler as it used to do those ancient clergymen who said, "This people, who knoweth not the law, are cursed."

In this calm and judicial spirit Mr. Adams offers himself as a "horrid example" of the "truth and justice" which might be expected at the hands of spiritual persons. The teaching of all history has been that "truth and justice" never yet were to be had at the hands of clerical tribunals. These professional builders of the Temple were the very ones to reject the chief corner-stone: as their fathers stoned the prophets, so did their "Christian" antitypes "judicially" harass, vex, imprison, and burn the people whose "souls' health" they professed to safeguard.

Your brother commissioner, Bishop Stubbs, in his admirable "Constitutional History" (vol. iii., pp. 344, 373, 523, &c.) and elsewhere, has pointed out that "although in times when class jealousies are strong, clerical immunities are in theory, but in theory only, a safeguard of society, *their uniform tendency has been to keep alive class jealousies.*"

This witness is true. The legitimate spiritual influence of the "elders which are among" the brethren is destroyed by substituting for it "personal," "paternal," coercive *jurisdiction in Clerical Courts*,—which to the lay mind is equivalent to sanctioning class favouritism, sacerdotal pride, professional ambition, and party spirit.

With this brief but earnest counter-protest, I hasten to apologize for having been unwillingly dragged into troubling you with my "Remonstrances." If you and others will read and study *at first hand* the Judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, they will be found to need no defence from anybody, least of all from

Your humble Servant,

J. CLEMENTS.

6, MYDDLETON ROAD, WOOD GREEN, N.
April 2, 1885.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

AFTER an interval of three years, during which no reply to my "Remonstrance" has been attempted, I reprint it as a useful compendium of the traditions current among Ritualists, and as illustrating their method of misleading the ill-informed.

J. C.

14, BUCKINGHAM STREET,
STRAND, W.C.
May, 1888.

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NOTICE.—*In order to economize space, the Judgments referred to in the following pages are indicated by letters in* EGYPTIAN *type, as follows :—*

W. Westerton *v.* Liddell.
P. Hebbert (Elphinstone) *v.* Purchas.
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B. Sheppard *v.* Bennett.
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S. Bishop Salisbury *v.* Williams.
D. Marsters *v.* Durst.
G. Bishop Exeter *v.* Gorham.
A. Merriman *v.* Williams.
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Q. Long *v.* Bishop Capetown.
B.C. The Montreal Burial Case.
J. Jenkins *v.* Cook.
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P.B. Philpotts *v.* Boyd.

The page references relate to the Reports by Mr. Browning, of [**M.**] by Mr. Bullock, [**P.**] by Mr. T. W. Perry, [**R.**] by Dr. Stephens [**B.**], and to Brodrick and Fremantle's Privy Council Judgments, published by Murray.

APPENDIX.

EXAMINATION OF MR. COKER ADAMS' TRAVESTY
OF
PRIVY COUNCIL JUDGMENTS
IN
"THE CHURCH AND THE COUNCIL."

I., p. 10. "*This Court has . . . declared twice that the Eucharistic Vestments of 2 Ed. VI. may be worn by the officiating clergy* [**W.** *and* **M.**], *and twice that they may not.*" [**P.** *and* **R.**]

But in [**M.**] vestments were neither mentioned nor alluded to; in neither [**W.**] nor [**M.**] was the question of the "ornaments of the minister" before the Court. The words so often cited from [**W.**] as though relevant to that question, were carefully discussed in both the later Judgments. Mr. Adams has completely missed their point and meaning. They occur in a discussion, not of what ornaments might be used, but as to what constituted an "ornament." The answer was "*use* in the service" by the officiant. The emphatic word, therefore, was "used." An inert, unused decoration or fixture is not an "ornament," however beautiful; while an ugly pulpit is technically an "ornament." To understand the passage you must take the context, and seek the chain of reasoning of which it forms a link. This appears from the very next sentence, which Mr. Adams is careful to omit, viz., "None of them, *therefore*, can have any reference to articles not used in the services, but set up in the church as ornaments in the sense of decorations."

That the lawfulness of every "ornament" prescribed by the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. was *not* asserted in [**W.**] is proved by the fact that the chief "ornament of the church," viz., the stone altar, was swept away by that Judgment as illegal, and was replaced by an honest table. Yet, when Archbishop Tait pointed out to Mr. Adams the root fallacy of his pamphlet in assuming that the Court decided anything as to points not brought before it for decision, Mr. Adams, nothing daunted, altered the word "decided" into "declared." Yet I had pointed out to him "a

year ago" that "errors of incidental statement, of fact, of collateral reasoning, or of illustration do not vitiate, nor even necessarily detract from the weight of a Judgment; and when, as in [**R.** and **P.**], the same decision is reached by totally different chains of reasoning in separate Judgments, this is so far from weakening, that it very greatly strengthens and confirms the Judgment; just as the 'proving' of a sum by working it in a different method by no means shows the former working to be wrong because both yield the *same* result." At any rate, Mr. Adams had no right to suppress the fact that the Judges in [**W.**] expressly said the Court had "nothing to do with the ornaments of the minister, or anything appertaining thereto." (Moore's Separate Report, cited in [**R.**], p. 737.) (*See* No. XLIII.)

II., p. 11. "*Once that the Ornaments Rubric, taken by itself, imperatively requires the use of such special vestments* [**R.**], *and twice that it is so worded as to imply their disuse.*" [**P.** *and* **R.**]

The fact that the *same* judgment is said to give these opposite statements might well make any reasonable person hesitate to receive this saying. In fact, both Judgments expressly refused to regard the Ornaments Rubric as having ever been the sole rule and law of this Church and realm.

III., p. 11. "*Once that 'standing before the Table' in the Communion Office applies to the whole sentence* [**M.**], *and twice that 'before the Table' in the same place does not.*" [**P.** *and* **R.**]

This, of course, is quite untrue; neither [**P.**] nor [**R.**] state that the words do not apply to the whole sentence; but in each of them the phrase "before the Table" is held to mean *at* the table, and with face turned towards it. When Mr. Adams' statement was challenged "a year ago," he could only put forward a private inference of his own, from the circumstance that the "opinion" of Wheatly and Nicholls was referred to in [**P.**]. But the Judges merely said, "ONE opinion is that of Wheatly," and proceeded at once to reject it as being "needless," and to state that the Rubric was "purposely so framed as *not* to direct" the change of position which he advocated (pp. 37, 38).

The sole pretext for this reiterated garbling is that Mr. Brooke's Report (p. 196) contains the misprint, "OUR opinion is that of Wheatley." But this lame excuse cannot avail Mr. Adams, for the context shows it to be a misprint. Every other Report gives the true text; even Mr. T. W. Perry, of the English Church Union, gives it quite correctly; and these facts were pointed out to Mr. Adams "a year ago." Moreover, Mr. Adams wrote himself to the *Guardian* of April 2, 1884, saying that "Mr. Brooke's Report in no wise was, nor professed to be, 'authorised';" and in his "Church and Law," p. 16, he points out several errors in that Report; yet, so often as it suits his controversial purposes, he harps upon known errata in this "unauthorized" Report as though the Judicial Committee were directly responsible for them. (*See* below, Nos. XX., LXI.)

IV., p. 11. "*That fine wheaten bread can be made round* [**R.**], *and that it cannot.*" [**P.**]

Here I need but quote my unanswered reply of "a year ago" —"The Purchas Judgment did not deny that bread can be made into round pieces; but the Judges may well be pardoned for doubting if starch-paste baked into a wafer was 'bread usual to be eaten with other meats.' Wafers are no more bread than macaroni or pie-crust is bread; nor is negus 'wine.'"

The question as to wafers being "unleavened" was fully argued by counsel in the Purchas case, and ruled by the Dean of the Arches under the head of "size and material." Wafers are distinguished from "bread usual to be eaten with other *meats*," chiefly by their *material*; and the object assigned in the Rubric, viz., to do away with "superstition," related to the unsuitableness of the *material* as suggesting magical properties to vulgar minds.

"In the Ridsdale case, the defendant and his counsel spoke of 'Wafers' *until the time for giving evidence was closed;* then, they turned round, and raised *for the first time* the plea that a 'Wafer' might conceivably be made of *leavened* bread! This piece of sharp practice (worthy of the Old Bailey) obtained the acquittal of Mr. Ridsdale—not, however, upon the merits of the question, which he advisedly shirked, but upon a technical objection. Yet the Ridsdale Judgment expressly held that 'if it *had been* proved

that the Wafer properly so-called, had been used, it would have been illegal' (p. 752). And it defined the illegal Wafer to be 'a composition of flour and water rolled very thin and unleavened' (p. 749). This is the Judgment on Wafers which Mr. Adams pretends to think was in 'contradiction' to the Purchas Judgment."

V., p. 11. "*That consequently Queen Elizabeth's Injunction is consistent with her Prayer Book* [**R.**], *and that it is not.*" [**P.**]

This apparent "contradiction," as I pointed out "a year ago," is produced by the trick known as "ringing the changes." In [**R.**] it was held that the Injunction was "consistent" with the Rubric *as regards material*—the point then under consideration—but that in order to be "consistent" the "singing-cakes" of the Injunction must be supposed to have been of leavened dough, *i.e.* not Wafers properly so-called. There is no real contradiction in saying that two rules which conflict as to *one* point, viz., "form and fashion round," may be "consistent" as to *another* point, viz., material.

VI., p. 11. "*That her Injunctions are valid* [**W.**], *and that they are not.*" [**R.**]

What is meant by the "validity" of an Injunction? As a fact, *no* assertion about them is found in [**W.**], in which they are merely regarded as one link in the chain of historical evidence as to what was understood to be legal at a given time. In [**R.**] their "validity" was recognized precisely in the same sense, viz., as evidence; but the Court refused to regard them as proved to be issued under section 25 of 1 Eliz., c. 2. (*See* below, Nos. LIII., LIV.)

VII., p. 11. "*That the Injunctions of* 1547 *are valid* [**W.**], *and that they are not.*" [**M.**]

The same remark applies to these. The Injunctions issued July, 1547, lost all *Parliamentary* authority on December 24, 1547, by the passing of 1 Ed. VI., c. 12. But they retained a certain undefined authority from (that unknown and varying quantity) the Royal Prerogative. At the date of their issue a denial of Transubstantiation was punishable with death, and the Latin Mass and the whole apparatus of the Romish pleiad of "seven" sacraments was

in full swing. [**W.**] notes that they left the Mass "entirely untouched" (p. 137). Hence in [**M.**] (p. 26) it was held that *any* authority remaining to them would have been abolished by the Act of Uniformity, 1 Eliz., c. 2.

VIII., p. 11. "*That unsound doctrine needs to be retracted* [**H.**] *and that it does not.*" [**B.**]

Neither proposition is to be found in either Judgment. In the earlier case Mr. Heath was convicted not merely of "unsound doctrine" but of language "*directly* contrary or repugnant to" the Thirty-nine Articles (p. 246); whereas, in the latter case, Mr. Bennett was censured only for "using words rash, ill-judged, and perilously near a violation of the law." No "contradiction."

IX., p. 11. "*That it may be lawful to use Eucharistic lights, and yet unlawful to light them.*" [**M.**]

No such nonsense occurs in any Judgment. How could there be Altar lights where there was no Altar? Wheatly (on the Common Prayer, p. 106) and Cosin (Works iv., 390) and Dr. Stephens (Notes on C. P., ii., 1120) thought the Table-candles were to be burned at *Evening* Service. They are so lit in the Chapel Royal (2nd Rit. Report, App. 193).

X., p. 11. "*That persons may be re-tried on appeal after acquittal* [**P.**], *and that they may not.*" [**S.**]

There is nothing whatever in the "Essays and Reviews" case referred to which even resembles Mr. Adams' statement. Appeals from wrongful judgments in favour of the accused have always been the known right of the complainant. It would be scandalous were it otherwise. For example, the defendants in the Mackonochie case were acting upon the written Opinion of the Dean of the Arches, who was acting as their leading counsel up to the time when the case came before him for "judicial" investigation.

XI., p. 11. "*That a Cross placed over the Holy Table, but unattached to it, is lawful* [**W.**], *and that it is not.*" [**D.**]

Mr. Adams knew better. "A year ago" I showed him that the case was not "[**W.**]," but Beal *v.* Liddell; and that the words of the Judgment were, "the stone table has been altogether removed, and with it the cross; but the cross has been placed in another part of the church or chapel, not in any sense upon the

Table, nor *in any sense in communication, contact, or connection with it.*" References to 14 Moore's Privy Council Reports, p. 1, and to the *Contemporary Review*, vol. i., p. 8, were furnished to Mr. Adams. The lawfulness of the Cross, even in its new position, was not decided in that case, but only whether the terms of a particular monition had been sufficiently complied with.

XII., p. 11. "*That the North is fixed by nature, but the 'North side' is not.*" [**P.**]

The former part is imagined by Mr. Adams. To the question "what is meant by the 'north side of the table'," the answer given in the Judgment (p. 34) is "that side which looks toward the north." But this explanation seems to have been too abstruse for Mr. Adams to comprehend it. (Levit. i.-11.)

XIII., p. 11. "*That an Altar Cross is an Ornament of the Church* [**W.**], *and that it is not.*" [**M.**]

The first part of the assertion is exactly contrary to fact. An Altar Cross was swept away as illegal in that case (*see* No. XI.), while a decorative Cross on the choir-screen was allowed, precisely on the ground that it was *not* an "Ornament" (p. 133). Mr. Adams ignores the fundamental principle of the Judgment, viz., the difference between an architectural ornament, *i.e.* decoration, and an "Ornament of the Church." "Both books of Common Prayer had excluded them from *use* in the services. They were no longer to be *employed*," are the words of the Judgment (p. 141).

XIV., p. 11. "*That Bishop Colenso could not be subject to Metropolitan Jurisdiction without his consent, and that he was not subject to it though he did consent.*" [**C.**]

There is no contradiction here; both statements being perfectly compatible. The vague reference to "proceedings" seems designed to prevent any attempt to trace what is meant.

XV., p. 11. "*That it is lawful to Consecrate in front of the Holy Table* [**R.**] *and that it is not.*" [**P.**]

As I pointed out to Mr. Adams "a year ago," "the permission to stand in front of the western side of the Table during the Consecration Prayer given by the Ridsdale Judgment, was qualified by the material and over-riding condition that 'he must stand so

that he may in good faith enable the communicants to see,' and 'it is clear that a protection was intended to be thrown round the body of the communicants, which ought to be secured to them by the observance of the plain intent of the Rubric' (p. 746). That this 'protection' against a miracle-pretending, mystery-mongering Mass-priest is found in practice to be insufficient, is most true; and is one of many reasons for preferring the simpler and clearer ruling of the Purchas Judgment," which, as the later Judgment admits, "would, under ordinary circumstances, enable the Minister, with the greatest certainty and convenience to fulfil the requirements of all the Rubrics." [**R.**] (p. 744).

However, I admit that in this one particular, an apparent contradiction in practical directions between the two Judgments has been established. And it is much to be wished that the primitive method of celebrating on the east side of the Table (*i.e.* facing the people) should be substituted for the conflicting Uses which annoy and vex plain folk, on entering a new church, or undergoing a change of unbidden Incumbents.

XVI., p. 11. "*That the present Ornaments Rubric was first inserted in* 1559 [**R.**], *and that when it was inserted, the Rubric of* 1559 *was thrown aside.*" [**P.**]

But [**R.**] did not affirm the *verbal* identity of the Ornaments Rubrics of 1559 and 1662. The changes in the wording are carefully discussed in *both* Judgments.

The earlier Judgment said, "the Bishops threw aside the *form* of the old Rubric, and adopted that of the Statute of Elizabeth, but added the words, 'at all times of their Ministration'" (p. 16).

Both Judgments held that the "form" was changed, the substance identical: but Mr. Adams substitutes the words, "the Rubric" instead of the "*form of*" the Rubric, and having thus garbled his text, makes his comment at random, although "a year ago" his attention was publicly drawn to the facts.

XVII., p. 12. "*Twice, that the Council has no authority to settle the Church Doctrine* [**G.** *and* **B.**], *and once, that its decisions are part of her Doctrinal Standards.*" [**A.**]

But only in the sense (as explained in the latter case) that the legal Standards are "the Formularies of the Church *as judicially interpreted*,"

In a legal sense this must needs be so with all laws. Whether the subject-matter be astronomy, or metaphysics, or poetry, or theology, so soon as it takes body in a form of words so as to be cognizable by "Courts," the only remedy for Judicial misinterpretation is fresh legislation, *i.e.* the alteration of the "formularies." The neglect of a Legislature must not be charged to the Judicature.

XVIII., p. 12. "*That the Judicial Committee has a right to adjudicate on Appeals not specially referred to that Committee, and that it has not.*" [**P.**]

Nothing whatever in the case gave even a colourable pretence for this mis-statement.

XIX., p. 12. "*That the Judicial Committee is a fully constituted Court* [**P.**], *and that it cannot give Judgment, but only advice; see the usual conclusion of the Judgments.*"

Both statements are correct. The "Judgments," as Mr. Adams calls them, being *in the form of* "Advice." Mr. Finlason's book would explain this to Mr. Adams, if he would condescend to learn before he presumes to teach. See also C. Baron Kelly's "Letter to Lord Cairns" (p. 17).

XX., p. 12. "*That the Communion Office was without a Consecration Prayer for above a Century, and that it was not.* [**W.**] (*See Brooke's 'Six Judgments,'* p. 69.)"

By all means, "see" the blunder in Brooke's edition, which I pointed out to Mr. Adams "a year ago." I then told him that "the Westerton Judgment was delivered March 21st, 1857, and was published August 1st, 1857, by Mr. Moore, the official Reporter, with a correction of the original wording (as delivered), signed 'T. P. L.,' *i.e.* the Right Hon. T. Pemberton Leigh (afterwards Lord Kingsdown), the Presiding Judge, who delivered the Judgment. Mr. Moore's 'Edition' is the official and the only authorized edition: so that when Mr. Brooke, fifteen years later, published his book (from which Mr. Adams chooses to quote) he acknowledged in his preface that he was indebted to Mr. Moore for his copyright text. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Brooke *omitted* to copy the Official correction which appears at p. 179 of Moore's Report." Viz., "The Reporter has been requested to add the following note:—

"A correction has been introduced of an erroneous passage which in the Judgment as delivered stood thus—'that the prayer for the Consecration

of the Elements was omitted, though in the present Prayer Book it is restored,' T.P.L."

The right of amending the reasons given for Judgments before publication is known to and exercised by all the Courts. Mr. Finlason in his "History of the Judicial Committee," p. 25, gives a case reported by Sir Edward Coke, as showing that "if the Lords deliver any sentence doubtfully, they may afterwards declare themselves to the Clerk of the Court." As I said "a year ago," Mr. Adams falls into the error of quoting a second-hand and inaccurate report, published fifteen years afterwards by a private and irresponsible individual, as the putting forth of an "edition" purposely cooked by the Privy Council. "See the mysterious disappearance of this statement,' he says, 'from the later editions of the Judgment." (*Church and Law*, p. 14.) Sir Sir Edmund Beckett justly said* that a Barrister who dared to cite in Court a Judgment which had been corrected by the Judge who delivered it, *without giving the correction*, would deservedly never be trusted again. Theologians, it seems, have a lower standard.

So ignorant is Mr. Adams that he has quite misunderstood *in what* it was that the original error (which was *not* published, except as corrected above) consisted. It was only the *latter* part of the statement which was inaccurate. "The Prayer FOR Consecration of the Elements was omitted" in 1552; and a more Scriptural and Protestant Prayer for the Consecration *of the Communicants* in the *use* of the ordinance, was substituted. That Protestant substitute still continues in our Prayer Book which Ritualists seek *on that very account* to sweep away in favour of the first Prayer Book of Edward VI.

Hence the Judges were only in error in saying that "in the present Prayer Book it is restored." That error, moreover, weakened their argument, which gains strength from the correction; and as honest men they were bound to do what they actually did, viz., correct the official Report *before* allowing it to be issued

This is the head and front of their offending. But what are we to think of their would-be censor and critic?

XXI., p. 12. "*That cotemporary usage avails to invalidate the natural sense of the Ornaments Rubric, but not to confirm that of the Rubric on Sacramental Bread.*" [P.]

* *Guardian*, April 2, 1884.

Passing by the assumption that his own twice-rejected theory *is* the "natural" sense (see No. 1), the Judgment in question employed "cotemporary usage" merely to elucidate the sense in which words had been employed by the framers of the Rubrics.

XXII., p. 12. "*That the omission of words from the Formularies indicates the withdrawal of their teaching* [F.], *and that the words omitted are still implied.*" [R.]

The latter Judgment said that, in a given case, the "same thing" (*not* the same "words") was still implied (*in spite of* the omission of certain words) both by an express alteration of their context, and by *introducing for the first time*, in 1662 (by authority of *Convocation* as well as of Parliament) the Statute 1 Eliz. c. 2, as *part of* the existing Prayer Book. This, of course, is entirely suppressed by Mr. Adams, though the very key of the Ridsdale Judgment.

XXIII., p. 12. "*That Wafer Bread should be described as made with flour* [R.], *and pure Wheaten Bread should not.*" [P.]

The latter half of the statement is of course quite untrue. (*See* No. IV.)

XXIV., p. 12. "*That our Church has neither Altar nor Sacrifice* [W.], *but the Clergy may lawfully teach that she has both.*" [B.]

That our Church has no "altar" is proved by the deliberate expulsion of the *name* from her formularies, and by the removal bodily of the *thing* from her edifices; and this is witnessed not only in [W.], but in a long series of Judgments beginning with Falkner *v.* Litchfield, and including Parker *v.* Leach, Marsters *v.* Durst, Martin *v.* Mackonochie, &c., &c.

On the other hand, [W.] did *not* say that "our Church has *no* Sacrifice," but only that *the Lord's Supper* (though a Covenant Feast upon a Sacrificial Victim) *is not a Sacrifice*, but a sacrament; and this harmonizes perfectly with the statement in the Bennett Judgment that "the Church of England does not, by her articles or formularies, teach or affirm the doctrine maintained by the Respondent. That she has deliberately ceased to do so" (p. 297). Mr. Bennett's Doctrine is only "lawful" therefore in the sense that fornication is "lawful" by the Law of England; or that an accused person is proved to have acted "lawfully" by escaping conviction on a technicality with only a severe reprimand from the Bench.

XXV., p. 12. "*That the Sacrament should not be adored; but they may teach that it should.*" [**B.**]

This again is quite untrue. The words of the Judgment are:—

"Upon the whole, their Lordships, not without doubts and divisions of opinions, have come to the conclusion that this charge is not *so* clearly made out as the rules which govern *penal* proceedings require. Mr. Bennett is entitled to the benefit of any *doubt* that may exist. His language has been rash, but as it appears to the majority of their Lordships that his words *can* be *so* construed as not to be *plainly* repugnant to the two passages articled against him, their Lordships will give him the benefit of the *doubt*" (p. 303).

This is represented by Mr. Adams as "permission to teach." He might as well represent an acquittal, arising from "doubt" as to evidence, in a capital case as "declaring" that men may repeat a murder.

XXVI., p. 12. "*That the Ornaments Rubric is an obscure Statute* [**P.**], *and that it is plain and peremptory.*" [**R.**]

The answer is simple. The Purchas Judges did not say the Rubric was a "Statute"; nor did the Ridsdale Judges say it was "plain." Both parts of the statement are therefore inaccurate.

Ritualists themselves have at least five differing interpretations of the Ornaments Rubric. Only shallow and self-satisfied persons, like Mr. Adams, can think it "plain."

XXVII., p. 12. "*That a Licensed Priest has an appeal to the Council* [**Q.**], *and that he has not.*" [**L.**]

This, again, is a misrepresentation. Mr. Long was Incumbent of the Church, and in receipt of the income attached to the Benefice (Brod. and Fremantle, p. 24). Mr. Poole was simply a Licensed Curate.

XXVIII., p. 12. "*That all Ornaments of the Church authorized by the Prayer Book of 1549 are lawful, and that an Altar which is there authorized is not.*" [**W.**]

This is just Mr. Adams' playful impudence. (*See* No. 1.)

The meaning of the often quoted passage in [W.] is placed beyond doubt by repeated examinations and discussions in [**M.** (p. 26)], [**P.** (p. 25)], and [**R.** (p. 737)].

A "contradiction" of Mr. Adams' interpretation of a Judgment is by no means the same thing as contradicting the Judgment.

XXIX., p. 12. "*That it is allowable to alter Judgments after delivery* ('*see Brookes*'), *but not to re-consider them.*" [**P.**]

The substance of the "Judgment" was not altered in [**W.**] but only an incidental statement. (*See* above, No. XX.) As to the Purchas case, the E. C. U. for strategic reasons put in no appearance till Judgment had been given; then they had the coolness to propose that the Court should re-hear the case, on the ground that they were *now* prepared to support Mr. Purchas with funds.

XXX., p. 13. "*That a Defendant is allowed to appear in person* [**M.**], *and that he is not.*" [**P.**]

This is untrue. Mr. Purchas was perfectly at liberty to "appear in person," and deliberately chose not to do so.

XXXI., p. 13. "*That a certain Rubric sends the Priest to the West Side of the Table to order the Elements* [**P.**], *and that it is perfectly satisfied by his remaining at the North.*" [**R.**]

The former half of this statement is entirely untrue. (*See* No. III.)

XXXII., p. 13. "*That the Advertisements were issued in* 1564 [**P.**], *and that they were not issued till* 1566 [**R.**]; *that the general destruction of the vestments preceded the publication of the Advertisements* [**P.**], *and that it followed on their publication* [**R.**], *and that whichever it did, it shows that the Advertisements were intended to make the vestments illegal.*" [**P.** *and* **R.**]

"A year ago" I had said in reply to this:—"He is happy in detecting a change of date as to the Advertisements, which were held to be of 1564 in the Purchas case, and of 1566 in the Ridsdale case. Does he fancy that anybody claims infallibility for the Privy Council in matters of fact? They delivered no 'Judgment' as to the date of the Advertisements. The Sacred Convocations of York and Canterbury had laid it down in the 24th Canon that the Advertisements were of the 'seventh year of Elizabeth.' Sancroft and the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury speak of 'that excellent Canon of 1564' (Cardwell, Doc. Ann. ii.-306). The Purchas Judges followed the Sacred Synod, and were wrong in consequence. The fact is, until Mr. Droop, in 1876, taught us better, everybody thought they were of the date of 1564-5. Mr. James Parker in his 'Introduction to the Prayer Book,' for instance, speaks of them as the Advertisements of 1564. Why should the Purchas Judges be blamed for not

knowing what nobody then knew? Before the Ridsdale case was tried, Mr. Droop's '*Edwardian Vestments*' had cleared up our knowledge; and, of course, the later Judges had the advantage of a more accurate date. But this change of date was wholly immaterial to the question of the *legal* force of the Advertisements. Whether a law came in, in 1564 or in 1566, is a mere matter of dry chronology; and those who read for themselves the Ridsdale Judgment, instead of taking for granted Mr. Adams' caricature, will see that the Judges abundantly justified their finding by evidence, although a portion of the particular evidence cited in the Purchas case was eliminated."

XXXIII., p. 12. "*That the authority of Parliament mentioned in the Ornaments Rubric means exclusively the Prayer Book of* 1549 [**M.**], *whereas no limitation to or mention of any Book is there made.*"

Perhaps not. But "Parliamentary," *i.e.* Statutable authority of that date is mentioned; and neither *Royal* Injunctions nor *Clerical* Canons had *Statutable* authority of that date. The authority of the King and the authority of Convocation are quite apart from "the authority of Parliament." And if we have to choose on this point between the Judicial Committee and Mr. Coker Adams, even the admirers of the latter must admit *some* weight in the testimony of the very same Parliament that enacted the first Prayer Book, who in 5 & 6 Ed. VI. c. 1, spoke of it as "the Act *made in the Second year* of" Ed. VI.; also of the next Parliament who, in 3 & 4 Ed. VI. c. 10, described the first Prayer Book as "of late set forth and established by authority of *Parliament*," and the 8 Eliz. c. 1, which speaks of a Statute "*made in the Second* year of Ed. VI. for authorizing" the Prayer Book.

But perhaps Mr. Adams, in his courteous fashion, will set down these ancient Parliaments as so many knaves and fools, like Her Majesty's Privy Councillors.

XXXIV., p. 13. "*That a vestment cannot properly be worn with a surplice* [**R.**], *whereas, vestment with surplice is one of the attires appointed for bishops in* 1549. *See certain notes in Edward VI.'s first Prayer Book.*"

But the Judgment was perfectly right. The surplice, long-flowing and ample, with "large and wide sleeves," could only be

worn with a chasuble ("vestment"), as a crinoline could be worn under a shirt, viz., for purposes of caricature. Mr. Jas. Parker (a bitter foe to the Privy Council), says, "It stands to reason that a chasuble could scarcely be worn conveniently over a surplice" ("Ornaments Rubrick," p. 13); and that "the Rubrics implied that the vestment was to be worn over the alb, and the cope over the surplice, but that occasionally the cope might be worn over alb." ("Authority for Vestments," p. 26, note.)

Viscount Halifax, President of the E.C.U., lays it down that the surplice and cope were for use *only* when the Ante-Communion Office was read without a celebration. (Letter to the *Guardian*, February 2, 1882.) Hence, at their Anniversary, "the celebrant changed his cope for a chasuble." (*E.C.U. Gazette*, July, 1884, p. 183). And anybody who knows the state of feeling on both sides at the time of the Reformation will understand that the SAME person would not be likely to use both "surplice or alb," nor "vestment or cope" (*see Church Intelligencer*, Vol. I., p. 103). The Protestants used surplice and cope, as being a dress common to the laity and *non-sacrificial*; while the old Papists (of whom there were at least eight on the Episcopal bench at that time) would retain their sacrificial combination of "alb and vestment," *i.e.* chasuble. No priest might celebrate in a surplice under the first Book of Edward. *See* No. XCI.

This, however, only shows that the first Prayer Book of Edward was a "compromise which satisfied nobody," as Mr. Walton, in his "Letter to Canon Carter" (p. 51), justly said.

XXXV., p. 13. "*That the Advertisements were intended to restrain Ritual* [P.], *whereas they were notoriously intended to enforce it.*"

Just so; in the then temper of the times, to "restrain" Ritual gave the only chance of "enforcing" it. Men take in sail when a storm is imminent. Hence the Advertisements. Mr. MacColl was fully answered on this point in Droop's "Edwardian Vestments," 2nd edit., p. 83. (Hatchards.)

XXXVI., p. 13. "*That the Advertisements and Canons say the "surplice only" shall be worn, this expression being in fact only found as a direction for the Eucharist, in the discarded Prayer Book of* 1552." [P.]

This is untrue. The "expression," *as a quotation* (and Mr.

Adams gives quotation marks as though these existed in the Judgment), is not so contained therein. Yet the Advertisements and Canons (with the exception named in the Judgment, viz. as to Cathedrals), did *in fact* "prescribe the surplice only," though they did not use the "expression."* Those who think that the New Testament "prescribes celebration of the Eucharist by clergymen only" are obliged to admit that the "expression" is not to be found there. (Carter's "Doctrine of the Priesthood," p. 119.)

XXXVII., p. 13. "*That the Rubric directing the use of those ornaments of ministers authorized in 2 Ed. VI., refers exclusively to an enactment not in force, and probably not passed, till the following year.*" [**M.**]

The enactment (2 & 3 Ed. VI., c. 1) was passed in the last week of the "Second year. The Rubric does not speak of "use" in the second year, but of an "authority of Parliament" dated then. No "authority of *Parliament*" which is in *any* sense peculiar to the "Second" year has been produced except this very Statute, 2 & 3 Ed. VI., c. 1. *See* above, No. XXXIII.

The late Sir R. J. Phillimore, Dean of the Arches, Mr. Scudamore, and the nine eminent counsel who in 1866 advised the E.C.U., are entirely opposed to Mr. Adams on this point.

XXXVIII., p. 14. "*That the same Rubric means that none of those ornaments shall be used on all the occasions prescribed by that enactment, and that most of them shall not be used at all.*" [**P.**]

This, again, is a blunder. *None* of the Judgments allow that the Book of Edward is the sole standard of ornaments. They say, quite truly, that it was the standard only when taken together with other documents, and *in a sense compatible with them.*

XXXIX., p. 15. "*That Elizabeth's Injunctions do not 'point to' the vestments* [**R.**], *whereas they order the use of the cope in all parish churches. See Injunction* 1."

Blunder upon blunder! The Ridsdale Judges did *not* affirm that the Injunctions did not point to vestments, but that the Court were not able to "satisfy" themselves that they did, or that they were *issued under* 1 *Eliz. c.* 2 (p. 707).

* Compare "utentur *tantum* lineâ illâ veste" in the Canons of 1571. Card. Synod., p. 116.

On the other hand, there is not a word in the "Injunctions" which refers to copes. "Injunction I." is especially irrelevant. The Thirtieth, which does refer to the dress of the ministers, "BOTH IN THE CHURCH and without," expressly refers to the "*latter* year of King Edward VI.," *i.e.* 1553, when copes were forbidden by law. This 30th Injunction was new, not being taken from those of Ed. VI.

Archbishop Parker, Bishop Sandys (afterwards Archbishop), Bishop Horn, and the Puritans—Dean Humphrey, and Gualter, all writing *before the Advertisements were issued,* considered the Injunctions to "point to" the ornaments of the "*latter* year" of Ed. VI. And Dean Durel in 1669 refers to this 30th Injunction as prescribing the ministerial dress. But Mr. Jas. Parker, in his "Letters to Lord Selborne," pp. 21 and 156, and in his "Ornaments Rubric," p. 44, deliberately omits the words given above in small capitals, in order to conceal the fact. *See Church Intelligencer,* Vol. III., p. 101.

XL., p. 14. "*That the House of Lords never adopted the opinion of their Committee,* 1641, *about 'vestments now commanded.'*" [P.]

The Committee in question was *not* a Committee of the House of Lords, and the "report" was *not a* Report. The suggestion emanated from (a minority of seven out of fifteen) members of a sub-committee of *divines,* Episcopal and Puritan, who quarrelled among themselves, and broke up *without* "reporting." Mr. Adams should read Milton's "Fancies and Fallacies," p. 31; Droop's "Ed. Vest.," p. 96; and especially Lord Selborne's "Notes on Liturgical History," pp. 34-37; and Milton's "Church Perplexities," p. 165. He will then see what a mess his unacknowledged crib from Mr. MacColl has led him into.

XLI., p. 14. "*Whereas that House proved by its distinct and illegal abolition of them in* 1644, *that it considered them hitherto lawful.*"

This illustrates Mr. Adams' notion of what constitutes "proof." The House of Lords *said* they were illegal innovations, and abolished them as such; but Mr. Adams *thinks* they must have been legal: Therefore "that House *considered* them," &c. Q.E.D.

XLII., p. 14. "*That a plain direction of a Statute can be overridden or affected by Advertisement or Canon.*" [**R.**]

Why, certainly, *if* the latter be a "taking order" *under the provisions* of that very Statute. And for the meaning of Statutes we may even prefer the Judges of the land to amateur pamphleteers.

The canons were referred to in [**R.**] merely to show the sense in which the law was understood and acted upon *at the time*. The canons of 1604 were reprinted at the Restoration in 1660, 1662, and 1665, being "now published for the due observance of them by his Majesty's authority." (Kennet, 724.)

XLIII., p. 14. "*That a Judgment condemning the use of Eucharistic vestments as illegal is consistent with one which speaks of 'the vestments differing in the different services,' and says they 'may still be used.'*" [**R.**]

The words of that Judgment are (p. 737) "as to Liddell v. Westerton everything said and done in that case, to which the Rubric of 1662 was material, had reference exclusively to ornaments of the *church*. The Court had '*nothing to do with the Ornaments of the Minister or anything appertaining thereto.*' Moore's 'Separate Report,' p. 31."

They add, "Judges weigh their words with reference to the questions which they have to consider, and not with reference to questions which are not before them." Mr. Adams carefully reverses this process, and makes cross-readings of snippete culled, without regard to context, from the several Judgments. The passage referred to has already been discussed. (*See* Nos. I., II., XXVI., XXXIV., XXXVII., XLII.)

XLIV., p. 14. "*That the Judgment in Westerton* v. *Liddell cannot be relied on to show that the Court held all the Edwardian vestments to be lawful at the various times at which the Council said they might still be used.*" [**R.**]

This is the same equivoque dressed up as a fresh objection for the seventh or eighth time. The Court, of course, "held" nothing about a question which was not even present to its mind, not being involved in the suit.

XLV., p. 14. "*That we ought rather to understand, at the end of the Rubric, one of two sets of words, either of which would in*

fact leave the rubric as imperative in ordering the use of vestments as ever." [**R.**]

The supposed alternative is an unmeaning invention of Mr. Adams', and the Advertisements are in *direct* conflict with the first Prayer Book. It is simply impossible to obey both, although Mr. Adams does not seem to know this elementary fact. Under the first Prayer Book, for a priest or his assistants to wear a surplice at Holy Communion was distinctly illegal; so also was preaching in the surplice. On the other hand, the Advertisements directly *forbad* the wearing of a cope at table-prayers, which was expressly *commanded* by the first Prayer Book.

XLVI., p. 14. "*That the use of the ornaments of the minister was revived by Elizabeth after their disuse under Edward VI.* [**P.**], *instead of being retained by her from Mary's reign.*"

Why, of course. *See* XXXIX. The Elizabethan Act of Uniformity *begins* by reverting to "the *death* of King Edward" as the standard; the altars were swept away as *of course*. How could a reference to an authority of Parliament in the beginning of Edward's time be supposed to refer to "Mary's reign"? If they had meant Mary's reign, what hindered their saying it? The ornaments of the first Prayer Book were not the same as those of "Mary's reign."

XLVII., p. 14. "*That Hooker speaks of the Advertisements as agreed on, whereas he never mentions them by name, nor even certainly alludes to them.*" [**R.**]

Mr. Adams is careful here to suppress the reference to Hooker's "Eccl. Pol.," iii.-587. In his "Church and the Law" he alludes to Strype's statement in the footnote of Keble's edition; but he keeps back the additional statement from Strype given in the same Keble's Hooker, Vol. I., p. 141, viz.: "[Archbishop] Parker could not obtain the Royal sanction for the Advertisements then issued *until the following year*," &c. (*See* No. LI.)

XLVIII., p. 14. "*That Cosin wavered in his interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric* [**R.**], *whereas a careful examination of his works proves him to have been consistent throughout.*" Reference, "*Mr. James Parker.*"

But Mr. Parker (Hist. Revis. Pr. Bk., p. 130) throws into the obscurity of a sub-note in nonpareil type the important retracta-

tion which at a later time Cosin had added at the foot of his former "note," "*But* the Act of Parliament, *I see*, refers to the Canons, and *until* such time as other order shall be taken," which shows that Cosin had grown wiser. Also Mr. Parker fails to observe the importance of the fact that whereas Cosin had originally written the draft of the revised Ornaments Rubric, ending with the words, "that is to say, ... ," at a later period he added *only*, "a surplice, &c." (*i.e.* surplice, tippet, and hood: Swainson's "Rubrical Question of 1874," p. 67).

That a change took place in the tone of Cosin's Notes is admitted even by Mr. Parker ("Hist. Revis. P. B.," p. 368), and that Cosin's doctrinal and ecclesiastical views had changed is admitted by Mr. Keble ("Euch. Ad.," p. 139), and by Mr. Brewer, in his Memoir prefixed to Cosin's "Treatise on Transubstantiation," pp. xxviii-ix.

For example, in 1650, Cosin wrote to Mr. Cordel the Protestant, that though there is "*a prohibition of our Church against* our communicating with the Papists, and that *well grounded upon the Scripture and will of God*, I do not see but that both you, and others that are with you, may (either in case of necessity, when you cannot have the Sacrament amongst yourselves, or *in regard of declaring your unity in professing the same religion which you and they do*), go other whiles to communicate reverently with them of the French Church." In 1658, he tells us he used to go himself, and boarded two of his children, so that they might go to the French Protestant Church at Charenton. (Cosin's Works, Anglo-Catholic Library, iv.-398, 407.)

At any rate the fact remains, that every published utterance, and every official act done by "Bishop" Cosin, *after he became bishop*, was in full accordance with the Ridsdale and Purchas findings. He never wore the ornaments of the first Prayer Book himself,* whereas he did *require*—in direct *contravention* of that book—"a

* Under date June 12, 1627, there is an entry in Cosin's handwriting among the Acts of the Chapter of Durham,—"It is further agreed that the 3 vestments and one white cope (now belonging to the Vestry of this Church) shall be taken and carried to London, to be *altered and changed* into fair and large copes, according to the Canons and Constitutions of the Church of England." The Vestments had been condemned and forbidden by the Bishop in his Visitation." Cosin's Correspondence, Surtees Society, I., 170 note.

large and decent surplice for the minister to wear at ALL times of his public ministration." (Rit. Rep. App., 601.)

XLIX., p. 14. "*That the Ornaments Rubric is a note of reference to a Statute of Elizabeth* [**R.**], *whereas the reference was struck out at the last revision.*"

Because the Act itself was then "struck in," and made "*part of* the Prayer Book." (*See* No. XXII.) Mr. Adams says, in "Church and Law," p. 7, that "the Act has no claim on our allegiance, or even on our attention now," evidently not knowing that it is the very first item in the table of contents in his Prayer Book! A second Daniel!

L., p. 15. "*That private letters should not be used to interpret legal documents., whereas the* GREATEST *stress is laid on such evidence.*" [**R.**]

This is, of course, mere unfounded abuse.

LI., p. 15. *That* [*Archbishop*] "*Parker's sending the Advertisements for Elizabeth's approval proves that he obtained it* [**R.**], *whereas his subsequent complaints show that he did not.*"

The first half is a pure invention on the part of Mr. Adams; Archbishop Parker's "complaints subsequent" to his *final* "sending," related to the *execution* of the "Order," not at all to its "approval."

Mr. Adams wilfully or carelessly confounds the "*draft*" of the Advertisements, which was "not authorized *or published*," with the final issue of a version, much altered, which was.

He mistakes Archbishop Parker's complaints that he had to "DO" (that is execute) the "Order" solely by means of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, for a complaint that the "Order" itself lacked authority; lastly, he confounds Archbishop Parker's preference for a *written* sanction, with a statement (which Archbishop Parker did *not* make, but which is foisted upon him) that the "Order" had no sanction at all. These three blunders are also the very staple of Mr. Parker's inaccurate "Letters to Lord Selborne."

LII., p. 15. "*That copes were worn in all cathedrals on high days till about* 1840." [**P.**]

This is just another Adamite blunder. The Purchas Judges said there were "three views" as to the standard of ornaments—

(1.) The provisions of 1 Bk. Ed. *alone*. (2.) The provisions of 1 Bk. Ed., as a "maximum," with the canons, &c., as a "minimum." (3.) The provisions of 1 Bk. Ed. continued, "*so far as* they are not contrariant to *other provisions still in force*." After arguing and explaining what this last involved, they say, "Their Lordships attach great weight to the abundant evidence which now exists, that, from the days of Elizabeth to about 1840, the practice is uniformly in accordance with this view; and is irreconcilable with *either of the other views*" (p. 24). That would remain true, though copes were largely disused.

LIII., p. 15. "*That a Judgment disparaging the Injunctions of 1559, and favouring the Advertisements, is upheld by five writers, every one of whom, in fact, attributes the Injunctions, and not one the Advertisements, to the Queen.*" [**R.**]

As observed before, the Injunctions are not "disparaged;" on the contrary, they are weighed, but held to fail in proof of their having been issued under the 1 Eliz., c. 2. For one thing, there was neither any Metropolitan, nor (perhaps) any "Ecclesiastical Commissioners" at the date of their issue. But this does not "disparage" them as executive and administrative Acts of the "Supreme Ordinary" under 1 Eliz. c. 1.

LIV., p. 15. "*That those Injunctions were illegally issued* [**R.**], *whereas in the Thirty-nine Articles they are attributed to the Royal authority.*"

But the Royal authority to issue Injunctions did not rest upon 1 Eliz., c. 2; the Articles do not connect them with any Statute; and the Ridsdale Judgment does not hint any doubt of their "Royal" authority. The Injunctions themselves do not claim any "authority of *Parliament*."

LV., p. 15. "*That the Court decided the question of vestments without hesitation* [**R.**], *that is, that the majority paid no attention to the opinions of Chief Baron Kelly, Justice Amphlett, and the Dean of Arches, all of whom dissented from the decision.*"

Not a bit of it. Absence of hesitation does not imply want of attention, but clearness of conviction. For instance, of the eight learned Judges who concurred, we know that Lord Justice James had formerly held the opposite view, and his "Opinion" is still

published by the E.C.U., though given before hearing any argument on the question.

* * *

At this point Mr. Adams takes breath to abuse the Court for "practising sophistry in support of a foregone conclusion;" he then resumes his "train of mis-statements attendant on their other misdecisions" (p. 15).

* * *

LVI., p. 15. "*That our Burial Service expresses the same hope of each person's salvation as of the general resurrection.*" [G.]

This is untrue. The Judgment (p. 97) insists that "*hope* of the resurrection to eternal life" implies much more than that there will be a "general resurrection." And the "hope that this our brother doth rest in God," expressed as it is in *every* man's case, must be a "judgment of charity."

LVII., p. 15. "*That it is to be used over persons who have died in the actual commission of flagrant crimes.*"

This also is false, both in the letter and spirit. [G.] (p. 96).

LVIII., p. 15. "*That the correctness of a man's doctrine can be ascertained without producing specimens of it.*" [G.]

Nothing whatever in the Judgment at all resembles this mis-statement.

LIX., p. 15. "*That its orthodoxy is attested by a number of authorities, none of whom teach the doctrine professed by him.*" [G.]

This is a double blunder. The Court repeatedly disclaimed the determining anything as to Mr. Gorham's opinions being "theologically sound or unsound" (pp. 89, 105). The "authorities" were cited solely in reference to the one point of a "charitable" construction of "absolute" expressions in the services. Mr. Adams would apparently prefer that a Court of law should formulate dogmas, and label orthodoxy, instead of declaring *law*.

LX., p. 15. "*That Hooker speaks of the 'rule of charity' instead of that of 'piety,' as allowing us to call baptized infants regenerate.*" [G.]

The slip is purely verbal, and does not in the least affect the meaning of Hooker, nor the Judges' inference. If Mr. Adams had supplied the reference (viz., "Eccl. Pol.," V-lxiv-3), he would have enabled his readers to test this.

LXI., p. 16. "*That Bullinger uses certain words which are very inaccurately quoted.*" [**Q.**]

Here Brooke's report is at fault* again. But even Mr. Adams will not deny that Bullinger went as far as Mr. Gorham in affirming that cleansing and adoption are "not first given unto infants in baptism, but that there is sealed and confirmed which they had before." ("Decades," v-313, 377. Parker Soc.)

LXII., p. 16. "*That the use of a formulary which asserts the regeneration of all infants in baptism is compatible with the assertion that no infants are thus regenerate.*" [**G.**]

Mr. Gorham made no such assertion.

LXIII., p. 16. "*That the direction for prayer before baptism, 'if the time will suffer,' indicates that there may not be time to send for a lawful minister.*" [**E.**]

Mr. Adams is in such a hurry to bear false witness that he omits to notice that the words are quoted *as taken from* the Office of 1549-61, the words being, "First let them that be present call upon God for his grace, and say the Lord's prayer, *if the time will suffer,* and then *one of them* shall name the child, and dip him in the water, or pour water upon him, saying these words—N. I baptize thee," &c. An express direction for lay baptism. (Keeling's "Liturgies," p. 257.)

LXIV., p. 16. "*That the questions which the priest is directed to ask, in case the child has been baptized by any other lawful minister, suggest that no lawful minister was needed for baptism.*" [**E.**]

Mr. Adams omits to notice that "the" questions did not exist in the office quoted, which said nothing about a "lawful minister." ("Keeling," p. 259.) "Distingue tempora" is a lawyer's maxim which theologians ignore.

LXV., p. 16. "*That schismatical is the same as lay baptism.*" [**E.**]

So far from affirming this, the Court said "nothing turns upon any suggestion of heresy or schism . . . it is as unqualified, and *not* as heretical and schismatical . . . that any one's competence to administer it is denied" (p. 14).

* Mr. Adams himself gives several illustrations of errors in this edition ("Church and Law," p. 16), and then says coolly, "some slight inaccuracy may have been incurred by my use of that gentleman's edition." But "spiritual persons" should remember St. James, iv-17.

Sir John Nichols in "Kemp *v.* Wickes," and Sir H. J. Fust in this very case had ruled *this* point precisely as the Privy Council did.

LXVI., p. 16. "*That the Injunctions of* 1547 *had not Parliamentary authority* [**M.**], *whereas they were issued under an Act giving them equal authority with Acts of Parliament themselves,* 35 *Hen. VIII., c.* 16."

This is a capital illustration of Mr. Adams' acumen! No opinion is expressed in [**M.**] as to their "Parliamentary" authority: the Act "35 Hen. VIII., c. 16," had nothing whatever to do with "Injunctions;" it related to Canon Law; it was expressly limited to the lifetime of King Henry, so that it was not repealed by Queen Mary, having expired with the King long before "1547." The Proclamation Act, 31 Hen. VIII., c. 8 [which is probably what Mr. Adams had in "what he is pleased to call his mind"], *was recited nominatim and expressly repealed by* 1 *Ed. VI., c.* 12, before the commencement of the "second year of Edward VI."

LXVII., p. 16. "*That the Ordinary has no jurisdiction as to inscriptions on a tombstone.*" [**K.**]

But the "Ordinary" in this case was only a junior lawyer, and his discretion having been unwisely and wrongfully used, was rightly subjected to correction. (*Guardian*, Jan. 26, 1876.)

LXVIII., p. 16. "*That a priest may lawfully express a hope that a doctrine to which he has declared his assent is false.*" [**F.**]

The words of the judgment are:—

"We think that it is *not* competent to a clergyman of the Church of England to teach or suggest that a hope may be entertained of a state of things contrary to what the Church expressly teaches or declares will be the case; but the charge is that Mr. Wilson advisedly declares that after this life there will be no judgment of God, awarding either eternal happiness or misery—*an accusation which is not warranted* by the passage extracted." (Brooke, p. 100.)

LXIX., p. 16. "*That the Queen's Letters Patent for the creation of a See may be set aside as illegal.*" [**C.**]

Certainly, if *ultra vires;* and why not? "Rex nihil potest nisi quod jure potest:" otherwise every illegal usurpation and every blunder of the law-advisers of the Crown would be stamped with infallibility. The point was simply that the Crown cannot grant,

by Letters Patent, jurisdiction in a colony which has a settled representative government of its own.

LXX., p. 16. "*That Bishop Wren was impeached in* 1636 [**P.**], *instead of* 1641. *Rev. M. MacColl.*"

No doubt the Judges should have said "was impeached for offences *committed in* 1636." And if they had, they would have strengthened the case *against* the Ritualists. For that fact shows that even the lynx-eyed Puritans could not find an instance of "eastward position" during the last five years preceding Wren's trial. Wren expressly pleaded that "being low of stature, he could not reach over his book," and this may easily have happened to so small a man in the one or two instances charged. But at any rate, it proves both that *it was not his* CUSTOM, *and that he did not defend it as such.*

LXXI., p. 16. "*That Cosin's Articles of Inquiry were issued in* 1687, *instead of* 1627." [**P.**]

This is Mr. Adams' blunder. In the *Times* of April 3, 1875, and again in the *Guardian* of April 16, 1884, it was publicly stated first by the Archbishop of York and then by Mr. Reeve, the Registrar of the Privy Council, that the original draft of the judgment gives the date correctly as 1627. It is correctly so printed in Dale's Report, and was correctly cited by Dr. Stephens in the Folkestone case. Mr. Beresford Hope and Mr. T. W. Perry both speak of the "1687" as a "misprint." Dr. Littledale's statement that "the Articles in question are cited *as settling the legal interpretation* . . . and as *proving*" anything, is simply untrue. They are merely used to "express" the conclusion of the judges arrived at previously and on independent grounds.*

LXXII., p. 16. "*That a previous mixing of the chalice is unknown alike in Eastern and Western Christendom* [**P.**], *whereas it has been customary in the East.*"

But this is a misquotation. The judges said, "APART FROM AND before the service" (p. 27). The Greek rite of Prothesis is not "apart from" but as much part of the public liturgical function as

* This, however, is venial, compared with Mr. Adams' repeated statement that Chief Baron Kelly called the Ridsdale Judgment "most iniquitous" ("Church and Law," pp. 11-28), for Baron Kelly's thrice repeated repudiation of the allegation was published in the *Times* newspaper of October 29 and November 1, 1877.

the Communion service itself: *both* are screened off in whole or in part from observation. But *neither* consists of fancy rites adopted in the vestry out of a priest's own head, or a schismatical "Priest's Prayer Book."

LXXIII., p. 16. "*That Hooker regards either sort of sacramental bread as allowed* [R.], *whereas he implies the lawfulness of unleavened* ONLY."

This would be strange, if true; because the Rubric in Hooker's time ran thus, "and to take away the *superstition*, which any person hath, or might have, in the bread and wine, it shall suffice that the bread be such as is usual to be eaten at the table with other meats . . . and if any . . . remain, the curate shall have it to his own use." Of course Hooker "implies" nothing of the kind alleged by Mr. Adams.

LXXIV., p. 16. "*That Mr. Purchas must be condemned because pure wheaten bread is to be used.*" [P.]

The words of the Judgment are, "Their Lordships think that the law of the Church has directed the use of pure wheaten bread, and they must so advise Her Majesty" (p. 32). Mr. Purchas had been charged with using "wafers *instead of* bread, such as is usual to be eaten" (p. 43). (*See* No. IV.)

LXXV., p. 16. "*That in the Colonies a priest has greater rights than in England, and a Bishop less.*" [Q.]

If true, this would be a question of law and of fact, as to which judges are better exponents than parsons.

LXXVI., p. 16. "*That where a Court of Appeal is appointed, a plaintiff may disregard that Court and go before the Council instead.*" [Q.]

But in that case the "Court of Appeal" was unanimous in finding the very same judgment which was *afterwards* confirmed by the Privy Council. (Brod. and Fremantle, p. 309.) The "Court" (?) Mr. Adam means, wasn't a Court of "*Appeal*"; and it wasn't "appointed," but its jurisdiction was disputed.

LXXVII., p. 16. "*That on the death of a prosecutor, it is lawful to appoint a new prosecutor, who is unconnected with the case, and who does not answer for the truth of the allegations.*" [P.]

The facts having all been previously proved in the lower court by witnesses, and the appeal being *not on the "facts,"* but on the law. *See* Rit. Rep. App. 252.

LXXVIII., p. 17. "*That a man can prostrate himself while standing upright and without bending his knee.*" [**M.**]

A double misrepresentation! The charge was for disobeying a monition to abstain from "*kneeling, or* prostrating." The defence was that "he admits a bowing of the knee, a bowing to an extent which occasions it momentarily to touch the ground," which bowing of the knee, he says, was "the act of reverence intended by me." (*Monthly Intelligencer*, vol. iii., p. 334.)

LXXIX., p. 17. "*That everlasting may mean temporary.*" [**F.**]

The word "temporary" does not occur. Æonial, or age-long, which is the New Testament phrase, does not at all correspond to "temporary." *See* Jukes' "Restitution of all things."

LXXX., p. 17. "*That the letter and spirit of the Rubric before the consecration prayer conflict when the holy table stands at the south end of the church, but not when it stands at the west end; that in a certain chapel the north side is where the west side usually is.*" [**P.**]

The sole foundation for this lies in the following passage of the judgment:—

"They think that the Prayer of Consecration is to be used at the north side of the table, so that the minister looks south, whether a broader or a narrower side of the table be towards the north. . . . It is mentioned that Mr. Purchas' chapel does not stand in the usual position, and that, in fact he occupied the east side when he stood with his book towards the people. If it had happened, as it does in one of the Chapels Royal, that the north side had been where the west side usually is, the question between the letter and the spirit of the Rubrics would have arisen. But the defendant seems to us to have departed, both from the letter and the spirit of the Rubrics" (p. 39).

From this it appears that the Privy Council knew, though Mr. Adams does not, that *all* churches are supposed by the Injunctions of 1559, the Royal Order of 1561, and Canon 82, to have an "*East end*," so that the conventional phrase "North side" in the Rubrics has reference to this ideal arrangement.

LXXXI., p. 17. "*That 'before the table' does not mean in front of it.*" [**P.**]

See above, No. iii.

LXXXII., p. 17. "*That the meaning of the Rubric directing the celebrant to stand before the table is to be settled by the custom of a time when no such direction existed.*" [**P.**]

This is a misrepresentation. The "custom" was adduced merely to determine the meaning of the phrase "north side."

LXXXIII., p. 17. "*That the evidence of a witness who swore he saw certain acts performed by the celebrant, proves that* THEY *could not be seen* [**P.**], *and that the evidence of two witnesses who swore that they could not see* SUCH *acts, suggests that* THEY *could be seen.*" [**R.**]

Nothing could be more false. The acts which the witnesses swore they saw were not the *same* acts which they swore they were prevented from seeing. In the later case the judges declared they thought the proof deficient in "precision" as to the impossibility" alleged.

LXXXIV., p. 17. "*That the office for Adult Baptism contains a Rubric about infants brought to be baptized.*" [**P.**]

Mr. Adams is so ignorant as not to know that persons "before they come to years of discretion" are reputed "infants" for whom this Rubric in the Office for Adults prescribes "*Infant* Baptism."

LXXXV., p. 17. "*That the South African is not in communion with the Anglican Church, because the former does not accept the Council's decisions* [**S.**], *whereas both Churches alike receive them with non-resistance only; that the Council's Ecclesiastical decisions are among the doctrinal standards of the English Church, whereas both houses of the Canterbury Convocation, and all the Bishops of both provinces jointly and severally, concurred in censuring the teaching of Essays and Reviews, allowed by the Council.*"

This is only No. XVII. over again. . . . Majorities in clerical gatherings merely show the dominance from time to time of this or that "school:" they are not "the voice of the Church."

LXXXVI., p. 17. "*That to elevate the wafer without the paten is to elevate the paten.*" [**M.**]

This I am unable to trace. I find, however, that their Lordships said, "Nothing in what their Lordships are now determining can for one moment be pleaded hereafter as a justification for any mode of elevation which can be distinguished from the mere act of taking *the elements* from the table." (*Monthly Intelligencer*, iii-334.) The *Guardian* (Dec. 8, 1870) said that "the evidence on the hearing, and Mr. Mackonochie's own argument, cannot be read without an unpleasant feeling—the unpleasant feeling, in fact, which we experience when we meet *with evasion and chicane.*"

LXXXVII., p. 17. "*That because Gibert said some of the Tridentine decrees were not binding on the Gallican Church before the Revolution, therefore they are not binding on Canadian Romanists now.*" [**R. C.**]

This was true, *not* because "Gibert said" it, but from the very nature of the case. The burthen of proving Canons binding rests with those who assert it. *See* Lord Denman in the Hampden case, p. 211. Reception is necessary to give binding force to Canon Law. The "Quebec Act" of 1774 (14 Geo. III., c. 83), section 5, made the Royal Supremacy binding on Canadian Romanists. *See* p. xiv of the Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission.

LXXXVIII., p. 18. "*That the year 1593 is within ten years of 1564.*" [**P.**]

Here Mr. Adams, for once, has the letter of the text in his favour. But he has violated the spirit. The Judges had strung together a number of authorities for the exclusive use of the surplice in parish churches at holy communion—all of them being "within ten years of the date of the Advertisements." But before summing up they paused to obviate one counter-authority alleged *against* their conclusion, viz., Sir Ed. Dering—and having shown its compatibility, they then urge the cumulative force of the first-named authorities. Dering himself, however, happened to be later, viz., 1593: so Mr. Adams thinks he can make capital out of the inadvertence.

Admirable critic!

LXXXIX., p. 18. "*That the lawfulness of church ornaments depends not on the law, but upon the presence or absence of certain other ornaments in the church.*" [**R.** *and* **P. B.**]

There is nothing in either judgment at all resembling the former part: though there is in another judgment a suggestion that altar lights must needs be swept away with the altar, as accessories accompany their principal. Would Mr. Adams hold that a pulpit cloth, for instance, did not depend upon the lawfulness of a pulpit?

XC., p. 18. "*And upon the Council's opinion as to the probability of their abuse.*" Ibid.

This, however, only related to decorations, not "ornaments"

technically so called. In matters of "discretion," the Supreme Court may be trusted in preference to private parochial Popes.

XCI., p. 18. "*That Advertisements which require the use of eucharistic vestments in some churches, and forbid them in none, were enforced by the indiscriminate plunder of* SUCH *vestments in all churches alike.*" [P.]

The Advertisements did not sanction vestments: on the contrary, they prescribed (for cathedrals) the layman's cope to be worn not only by the celebrant, but by the epistoller and gospeller; thus contravening the directions of the first book of Edward VI., which had bidden the latter to wear "albs with tunacles." In this way the "*distinctive*" dress of the celebrant was destroyed. It was illegal for a priest to celebrate in a surplice under the first Prayer Book of Edward: but by the Advertisements he was *bidden* to wear a "comely surplice *with sleeves.*" At table prayers the priest must wear a cope, by the first Prayer Book: by the Advertisements he was directed to "use NO cope," even in cathedrals. To say, therefore, that the Advertisements do not "forbid" things which were superseded, is as if one should say the Creed does not "forbid" belief in Mahomet: or the Communion Service does not "forbid" mass. The so-called "indiscriminate plunder" was effected by the Ordinaries and other Crown Visitors in due form of law, and carefully "discriminating" the legal ornaments. *See* No. XXXIV.

XCII., p. 18. "*That the Council has supreme authority in all purely spiritual matters, such as suspension from all clerical functions* [P.] *and refusal of communion.*" [J.]

Not so. They do but "restrain with the *civil* sword the stubborn and evil doers." (Article xxxvii.)

A dishonest priest who breaks his contract or commits a nuisance* in church, comes within this category. In Jenkins *v.* Cook, there was no use of the "power of the keys" by the Court. It was merely determined that by the law of "this Church and Realm," an individual minister may not excommunicate a man without due process of Court; nor may he erect doctrinal tests of communion in addition to the Creeds. This

* *Nuisance*, "in law, something that incommodes the neighbourhood." *Johnson's Dict.*

came before the Privy Council not as a "spiritual matter," but as a breach of law.

XCIII., p. 17. "*That stocks were among the ornaments of the Church about* 1570." [**P.**]

This is just as accurate a quotation as "the Bible says, 'there is no God.'" Grindal is cited as inquiring for "holy water stocks," among other illegal ornaments secreted by Crypto-Papists in 1571.

"We must speak by the card, or equivocation will undo us."

XCIV., p. 18. "*That the Sovereign can take order under an Act of Parliament without giving her formal consent.*" [**R.**]

This is inaccurately stated. The point held was that where *in pursuance of written directions* from the Queen, Orders had been framed by the Metropolitan (or by Commissioners under the Great Seal for Causes Ecclesiastical), no prescribed *form* of giving her assent to them afterwards was required by law.

In such a case the Queen's assent might be by word of mouth Moreover, the non-survival of a written ratification is no proof that none such ever existed. We have not got either of the original Prayer Books of Edward VI., nor the original authorized version of the Bible: and there never was an "original" Elizabeth's Prayer Book. Cannot Mr. Adams make something out of these facts?

XCV., p. 18. "*That an altar implies Roman doctrine* [**W.**], *whereas its use is enjoined in the Ordinal approved by our Articles. Article XXXVI., Church Times.*

The Ordinal approved by our Articles is the one in our Prayer Book: the Ordinal of 1550 did not exist in "the second year of Edward VI." It did *not* "enjoin" an altar; and its omission to do so, where our Ordinal speaks of the holy "TABLE," is noteworthy. The ridiculous taradiddle of the *Church Times* about Article 36, was exploded in the *Church Intelligencer* of December 1884, to which the *Church Times* has given no reply.

XCVI., p. 18. "*That a Ritualist acquitted by the Council on all points except a momentary and unintentional* [*?*] *act of excessive reverence is to pay all the costs of the suit.*" [**M.**]

So far from being "unintentional," Mr. Mackonochie speaks of "the act of reverence *intended* by me," but claims that the "touching the ground" was an accident!

The affidavit was, that nobody could see whether he was

kneeling or not. For this "evasion and chicane," as the *Guardian* called it, Mr. Adams thinks he should have been exempted from costs. (*See* above, No. LXXVIII.)

XCVII., p. 18. "*That two Ritualists acquitted on all points are to pay half the costs of the appeal.*" [**X.** *and* **B.**]

In the former case, "Beal *v.* Liddell," because there was good reason to think that the monition had been disobeyed by the (previously convicted) law-breaker, and because the application had been conducted "temperately and properly." (Brooke's Report, p. 80.)

Mr. Bennett was not allowed costs because he treated the Court with intentional disrespect by not appearing (p. 289). *See* also Nos. VIII., XXIV., XXV.

XCVIII., p. 18. "*That two Rationalists acquitted* IN LIKE MANNER *are to pay no costs of the appeal.*" [**S.** *and* **F.**]

The fallacy lies in the words "in like manner." They were totally *unlike* in "manner." Hence the result.

XCIX., p. 18. "*That 'it shall suffice' means it shall be obligatory.*" [**P.**]

"On the other hand, it has been argued, that in other places in the Liturgy, 'it shall suffice' must be construed into a positive direction; that if 'it shall suffice' to pour water on a sickly child, this ought to restrain the clergyman from immersing a child known to be sickly," and so on in other specified instances. These are the words of the Judgment (p. 30), which Mr. Adams professes to cite.

C., p. 18. "*And finally, that because King Charles I. swore his Councillors to secrecy, therefore divisions of opinion among those who have to hear and adjudge causes in open Court, are not to be reported to the Queen herself.*"

Mr. Adams does not even pretend that this is contained in *any* judgment; but has spent the first four pages of his own pamphlet in proving that it never was the practice of the Court.

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This list of 100 charges, Mr. Adams (p. 18) calls "fully 150 in number," and adds "what a hailstorm of inconsistencies, what a cataract of contradictions, what an avalanche of absurdities is here!"

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